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WESTERN AFRICA.

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WESTERN AFRICA;

ITS CONDITION,

AND

CHRISTIANITY THE MEANS OF ITS RECOVERY.

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SOLD.

BY

D. J. EAST.

LONDON:
HOULSTON AND STONEMAN,
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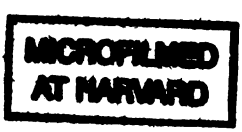

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PREFACE.

MANY and powerful are the appeals which have been made to the civilised world on behalf of injured and degraded Africa. But most of these have been addressed to philanthropists generally. The design of the following pages is to lay the case of Africa before the church of Christ.

Deeply affecting are the views which have often been presented of this unhappy portion of our globe. But these have been scattered through the journals of travellers and missionaries, or have, for the most part, related to the horrible atrocities of the slave-trade, and its results. Here it is attempted to exhibit, in a connected form, a general sketch of the moral, social, and religious condition of this wretched land.

The precise limits of Western Africa are not very accurately defined; and hence, mostly avoiding those parts of the continent which obviously belong to other

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points of the compass, the writer has confined himself to no particular boundary. A considerable portion of what may more properly be called Central Africa will thus come under the notice of the reader.

It is possible that, in perusing these pages, some may feel themselves abruptly introduced into the midst of a subject to which they could wish to have been conducted by some preliminary steps. "We find ourselves," they may say, "contemplating the moral, social, and religious state of a people, with the countries of whose abode the writer ought first to have made us acquainted." This, indeed, was his original intention. But to have given a mere outline of African topography, would only have furnished information which, in most cases, is either already possessed, or may be easily acquired. And when it is considered that a large portion of a vast continent is treated of, it will be seen, that to have entered into detail, would have required a whole volume, rather than a single chapter of the present work. Such a desideratum, moreover, is already supplied in Mr. M'Queen's "Geographical Survey."

While the writer fully admits the importance of all subordinate agencies which may be employed for the benefit of Africa, he aims to show that Christianity is the only sufficient means of its recovery. Assured that, on this subject, facts are the strongest and most

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convincing arguments, it is on these, almost exclusively, that he has based his conclusions.

The author has only to add, that it has been his aim, without sectarian prejudice, to write for the whole church, and for Africa. Recognising all as brethren who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity—feeling that the case of Africa demands the energies of all—and assured that, in a field so wide, all may employ themselves harmoniously, and without interruption to each other's labours, in the work of the Lord—he ardently desires to see every section of the church zealously and prayerfully devoted to the evangelisation of this benighted land.

Oh that Ethiopia may soon stretch out her hands unto God! The Lord hasten it in his time!

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WESTERN AFRICA,

&c. &c.

INTRODUCTION.

There are some periods in the history of nations, as well as in the history of the church, when God may be said to arise on their behalf, and the time to favour them appears to be come. At such seasons, events are seen conspiring together to promote their welfare; and although a night of thick darkness may have preceded, we behold the bright tints of the morning, predicting the speedy advance of a happy and a glorious day. This seems to be the case at the present moment with regard to the widely extended continent of Africa.

"The first history of this wretched land presents a mysterious page in the book of Providence. Successive ages have borne the elements of social improvement to almost every other considerable portion of the globe; but Africa, unhappy Africa, the cradle of ancient art and science, and the depository of ancient grandeur,

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has made no onward progress; and although upon her northern and eastern frontiers, a by-gone civilisation still lingers, yet her central, western, and southern districts appear, from time immemorial, to have remained in a state of barbarism."

This is indeed mysterious, and there is, perhaps, but one method by which the mystery can be unravelled. The believer in revelation sees in the condition of Africa the fulfilment of Divine prediction,—the execution of a curse pronounced by the Almighty nearly four thousand years ago, and still standing on record in his holy oracles.*

But the curse which for so many generations has rested upon the unhappy descendants of Ham, is not to be perpetual. God will yet *make them glad according to the days wherein he has afflicted them, and the years in which they have seen evil.* The same inspired authority which records the curse, predicts the blessing.† Africa is doubtless destined, as well as every other nation upon earth, to become subject to the dominion of the Redeemer; and in proportion as the reign of Christ extends among the teeming millions of its population, will the curse of Jehovah be removed; and, in comparison with what has been, a golden age will speedily succeed.

Nor ought we to look upon such a state of things as far distant. The work of her moral and spiritual renovation is begun. Her shores have already witnessed the triumphs of the Saviour. Modern discovery has opened a way of access into the very heart of the

* Gen. ix. 25—27. See Keith on Prophecy, p. 324.
† Psal. lxviii. 31.

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country, which is fully available to the black, if not to the white man. And of her sons and daughters, long enslaved in our western islands, God is raising up an agency in all respects suited to become instrumental in accomplishing his purposes of mercy in their fatherland. These, and many other circumstances, combine to create the most cheering anticipations, and tend alike to awaken and confirm the conviction that the hour of her deliverance draweth nigh.

These facts call loudly on all Christians to reflect upon the obligations under which they are laid; and in some degree to arouse to the benevolent effort which is so imperatively demanded at their hands.

The claims of Africa, as the events of Providence are at this moment urging them upon us, have to some extent been responded to. But much more must be felt, and vastly more must be done, and the church of Christ, in humble and prayerful dependance on the Divine assistance and blessing, must put forth her energies for the evangelisation of this dark and desolate land, with a strength of determination which nothing can daunt, and with a liberality more proportionate to the mercies which she herself has received.

To lay the case of Africa upon the conscience of the church of Christ, and to furnish an additional impulse to that vigorous exertion which the case requires, is the object of these pages; IN WHICH IT WILL BE ATTEMPTED TO EXHIBIT THE MORAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THAT UNHAPPY COUNTRY; AND TO SHOW THAT THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST AFFORDS THE ONLY EFFICIENT MEANS OF REMOVING ITS ACCUMMULATED EVILS.

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CHAPTER I.

NATURAL ADVANTAGES—NECESSITY OF INVESTIGATION—DESPOTISM—DOMESTIC SLAVERY—SLAVE TRADE—SOURCES—WAR—FAMINE—INSOLVENCY—CRIME—MOHAMMEDANISM, &c.—USES—SLAVES ARTICLE OF BARTER—ARTISANS AND LABOURERS—CHIEF PROPERTY—CONDITION OF SLAVE POPULATION—SLAVE TRADE—BLOODSHED AND RAPINE—AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE—BARBARISM—MORALS—CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION.

THE name of Africa is associated with all that is shocking and revolting to the feelings of humanity, as well as disgraceful to the boasted dignity of our nature. Its history is written in characters of blood, and unfolds a tale of oppression, cruelty, and wrong, such as all the annals of human crime can scarcely equal.

Africa itself is one of the fairest and most beautiful, as well as the most fruitful portions of the globe. No other country surpasses it in native riches. Its fertile plains will raise almost every production peculiar to a tropical climate. Its forests, consisting of the most valuable timbers, cover thousands of miles. In its animal kingdom, in addition to wild beasts, whose skins are valuable as an article of commerce, there are vast herds of cattle incalculable in number. Its mineral wealth is immense. Some districts are literally impregnated with the precious metals, and their stores of gold, in particular, are inexhaustible. Its rivers are equal to

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the most magnificent in the world; and the Niger, which pours its mighty waters from upwards of twenty mouths into the ocean, rising in the interior of the country, traverses it in a circuitous route, for nearly three thousand miles, and is navigable five hundred miles from its source.

These are natural advantages which ought largely to contribute towards giving a people a noble standing in the scale of nations, ministering to their own happiness, and making them a blessing to the rest of mankind.

But what is the real fact of the case? Africa is a moral wilderness, and her inhabitants, as they have been but too correctly described, are wolves to each other.

To its miserable and degraded condition the attention of the reader is now earnestly entreated. Nor let him, because the picture is humiliating, and some of its details most painful and revolting, shrink from its consideration. "There is hardly any thing in the case of Africa," to adopt the eloquent language of one of the ablest advocates the negro has ever had, "so much to be feared as the indulgence of excessive tenderness of feeling. If the benevolent and religious portion of the public choose to content themselves with the general and superficial conviction, that there is no doubt a great mass of misery in Africa, but refuse to sift and scrutinize each circumstance of horror, then the best hope for Africa vanishes away. That resolute, unflinching, untiring determination, which is necessary in order to surmount the difficulties which lie in the way of her deliverance, requires not only that the understanding should be convinced, but that the heart should be moved."

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SECTION I.

AFRICA is, to a considerable extent, UNDER THE DOMINION OF THE MOST SAVAGE DESPOTISM. A despotic form of government is established in nearly all the kingdoms of this vast continent. There are indeed some exceptions.

The state of Manding is described by Mungo Park, as a sort of republic, or rather oligarchy—every town having a particular *mansa*, or king, and the chief power of the state, in the last resort, being lodged in the assembly of the whole body. Similar to this, is Major Gray's description of the government of the Fulás, in Futa Jallon. In the Mandingo states, on the Gambia, although the form of government is monarchical, the power of the sovereign is by no means unlimited. In all affairs of importance, the king calls an assembly of the principal men, or elders, by whose counsel he is directed, and without whose advice he can neither declare war, nor conclude peace. Even, moreover, in those cases where the power of the monarch is most absolute, it is, it must be confessed, often exercised with considerable discretion. Thus in the great empire of Ashanti, the king, according to Bowdich, in exercising his judicial capacity, always retires in private with the aristocracy, (which, however, only consists of four persons,) to hear their opinions. In these conferences, while he appears somewhat tenacious of their opposing a new law, he is said to encourage their candour, and to give them an opportunity of defending an old one. To this it may be added, that in Mohammedan countries, the king is himself professedly bound by the

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authority of the Koran, and is pledged by his religious principles, not to act in opposition to its rules. This restriction, however, frequently proves but a mere pretence. In the government of Darfur, Browne declares that, although the monarch can do nothing contrary to the Koran, yet he is allowed to do more than the laws established upon it will authorise; besides which, it is to be observed, as Major Gray remarks, in reference to the kingdom of Bondu, that the enactments of the prophet are interpreted by the Imans, or priests, who being much under the power of the king, decide, in all cases where his majesty's interest is concerned, in his favour.

But still, after making every allowance which the most generous impartiality can require, the statement with which, at the commencement of this section, we set out, is nevertheless true, that Africa is, to a considerable extent, under the dominion of the most savage despotism.

Even where an oligarchical form of government prevails, the condition of the great bulk of the people is not changed; the only difference being, that the rod of tyranny is swayed by many instead of by one, the people themselves having no voice in the election of their rulers, or in the management of their affairs. In the numerous and petty states, in the neighbourhood of the Senegal and Gambia, where, perhaps, the character of the government is the mildest, the least defined, and subject to the most frequent fluctuations, the power of the presiding chiefs amounts almost to an absolute right in the disposal of their subjects.

The same state of things exists on the Grain Coast.

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The evidence of the African seaman, *Tom Coffee*, before the West African Committee of the House of Commons, during the session of 1842, affords ample testimony to this. The following is an extract from the Report of his examination:—2783. "Supposing an English ship were to go to your country, and the captain were to say, 'You shall go and take your wife and children, and stop one, two, or three years, and then I will bring you back again,' would you go with your wife then? Yes, some would go, and some would not." 2785. "Are you obliged to ask your father (chief) to let you go, do you give your father money to let you go? Yes." 2786. "Suppose a ship came, and you said 'I will go,' and your father says 'I will not let you go till you give me money,' are you obliged to give him money first? I cannot go without father." 2787. "Suppose you go on board a ship, and you get money and things, and you go on shore, are you obliged to give all to your father? Yes." 2788. "Supposing you want to stop on shore, does he take it all from you? Yes." 2801. "At the end of your voyage, when you come home, and you are paid in goods, what do you do with the goods which you take home as wages? I take them on shore, and give them to my father." 2802. "When you take the goods to your father, does your father give you any thing for them? No, he keeps them himself, and if I want any I ask him, and he gives them to me."

In a greater or less degree, the same right to control the labour of their people, and wholly or in part to reap the fruits of it, is claimed by the chiefs, on the Bonny and Calebar Rivers. For instance, king Bell

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having allowed his people to go over to Fernando Po, to labour for hire, on their return, received as a present whatever they chose to offer. But this was considered an act of great lenity and moderation. On another occasion, king Agua permitted his people to visit Fernando Po with a similar object; but, when they came back, he demanded and compelled them to give him a large portion of their earnings. In another case, however, king William, of Bimbia, instead of allowing his people to hire themselves, let them out himself, and sent his own son with them to the island to receive the remuneration for their services before they commenced their work. For these facts, the writer is indebted to his honoured brother, the Rev. John Clarke, baptist missionary to Western Africa.

The government of Dahomy is said to be the most perfect despotism on the face of the earth. The policy of the country admits of no intermediate degree of subordination between the king and the slave, at least in the royal presence, all acknowledging the right of the sovereign to dispose of their persons and property at pleasure. In attending on the monarch, even the highest minister of state, on his entrance into the palace, must crawl on his hands and knees to the apartment of audience, till he arrives in the royal presence, where he lays himself flat on the ground, rubbing his head in the dust, and uttering the most humiliating expressions. Being desired to advance, he receives the king's commands, or communicates any particular business, still continuing in a recumbent posture; for no person is permitted to sit, even on the floor, in the royal presence, except the women, and even they must kiss

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the earth when they receive or deliver the king's message.

A similar despotism is exercised in the interior. In Darfur, for example, the king speaks in public of the soil and its productions, as his personal property; and of the people as little else than his slaves. His authority is solely upheld by the military, and, therefore, the only object which he fears is the alienation of his troops.

Under such a form of government, in which the assumptions of the monarch are so great, and the submission of the subject so abject, it would be wonderful indeed, existing as it does amongst semi-barbarous nations, if the sovereign did not frequently appear in the character of a capricious tyrant; and the people sometimes have to endure an incalculable amount of suffering from his oppressions. How systematically these are in some instances inflicted, may be gathered from the following fact, recorded by Major Denham.

"In the province of Loggun, they have a metal currency, consisting of thin plates of iron. The value of this circulating medium, however, rises and falls according to the pleasure of the sultan, and is settled by proclamation at the weekly market every Wednesday. Now, if the sultan expects to receive tribute, or duty, on the commodities which may be sold, the officer appointed for the purpose generally proclaims the currency to be below par; but whenever the sultan has purchases to make, preparatory to some festival, the value of the metal invariably rises." Thus we see how, under the despotic governments of Africa, the prince may wrong his subjects to aggrandise himself.

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The attention of the reader is now invited to two other facts, illustrative of the cruel and oppressive character of African despots.

The first is recorded by Mollien, who says, that "on one occasion he saw the whole family of a minister of one of the petty tyrants of the Bissagoes, consisting of thirteen persons, arrive at Bissao. These," he declares, "by one of those capricious freaks so common among African princes, were sent to be sold into slavery at the European settlement."

The other fact, of a similar but more dreadful nature, to which the reader is referred, is quoted by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, in his justly celebrated work on the "African Slave Trade, and its Remedy."

"In the month of January, 1830, the king of Apollonia, an ally, though not a dependant on the British government, despatched messengers to Cape Coast Castle, to intimate that a Spanish slaver had anchored off Apollonia fort, the captain of which had asserted, that he had obtained the president's leave to purchase a cargo of slaves, and had already landed goods for that purpose; that he (the king of Apollonia) wished to ascertain whether there was any truth in the Spanish captain's assertion, as he should certainly furnish him with no slaves without the full consent and permission of the president. The president, in reply to this message, highly commended the conduct of the king of Apollonia, as a reward for which, he sent him a handsome present; at the same time, strictly prohibiting him from exporting, or permitting to be exported, a single slave; and explaining to him the British laws on that subject.

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"In the mean time, the king had contrived by fair promises, to get into his possession the whole of the Spanish cargo of goods; and when his messengers returned from Cape Coast Castle, he flatly refused to deliver a single slave, or to return the cargo. The Spanish captain managed, however, to get on board his vessel several of the king's family, and intimated to him, that unless the slaves contracted for were furnished immediately, he would certainly carry them (the king's hostages) off the coast; whereupon, the king, mustering his more immediate attendants and adherents, sallied out into the town in the night time, and seizing all without distinction whom he could find, sent them to the number of three hundred and sixty on board in irons, at day-break, receiving in return the persons detained as hostages.

"Here were three hundred and sixty free people, living in their own houses in perfect peace and apparent security, seized without the shadow of a pretext, by a rapacious and remorseless tyrant, whom they had been taught to look to as their father and protector. One of them, a mulatto girl, about sixteen or seventeen years of age, was afterwards redeemed, and she described the consternation and horror of the poor people when they found themselves ironed in the slaver's hold."

What a picture of savage tyranny and ruthless cruelty! Yet, such is the despotism, reckless of life and property, which rules unhappy Africa, operating, as tyranny and oppression ever must, so as to destroy the noblest feelings of humanity, and to arrest its progress in every effort which it makes to

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rise in the scale of intellectual being. Indignant, however, as we feel at the conduct of the rapacious despot, who could thus capture his innocent subjects, and then sell them into perpetual slavery, Christian compassion must exceed the bounds even of our indignation, when we consider what must of necessity be the condition of a people amongst whom such tyrannical barbarism could find scope for its exercise.

SECTION II.

AFRICA IS A LAND OF SLAVES. This is a fact, which no one at all familiar with the state of African society, will for a moment controvert. It is, however, to be feared, that in this as well as in other items of African wretchedness, the religious and benevolent have been too much accustomed to content themselves with superficial generalities, instead of sifting and scrutinising its minute details. This, therefore, must plead our apology for entering more fully into its particulars than would otherwise be necessary.

According to the computation of Park, which has been quoted by M'Queen, and other celebrated authorities, three-fourths of the entire population of Africa are in a state of slavery. And there is reason to believe, that this calculation is rather within than beyond the boundary of truth. In his first journey to Kanu, Captain Clapperton, estimating its inhabitants at from 30,000 to 40,000, reckoned that more than one half were slaves. This, however, appears to have been far below the real state of the case; for, in his

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subsequent visit, he was informed that there were no fewer than thirty slaves to every free man. This same traveller incidentally mentions a village in the immediate vicinity of Sakatu, where only one in seventy was free. Major Denham, speaking of Barca Gana, the general and favourite of the Sheikh of Bornu, says, that although himself a slave, he had fifty female slaves, and twice the number of male slaves, in his possession. He also declares, that the number of the armed slaves of the sultan of Bornu, prior to the Feláta conquest, was no less than 30,000. These are Mohammedan countries. The enormous extent to which slavery here exists, tells a terrific tale of cruelty, murder, and desolation, in the neighbouring pagan districts. The Mohammedan may enslave the Kaffir; but, according to the laws of the Koran, he dare not hold the moslem in bonds.

In the pagan states, however, slavery prevails still more extensively. According to Clapperton, the whole population of Yariba may be considered in a state of slavery, either to the king or his caboceers. And it is said, that every caboceer, or noble of Ashanti, is in possession of thousands of slaves, while the inferior chieftains and captains own a proportionate number.

These are facts which no one will venture to call in question; and when, besides the universal prevalence of the accursed system, its hereditary character—the many and fruitful sources from which it is replenished—and the numerous uses to which it is devoted are considered, the conclusion at which we arrive will scarcely be doubted; and the most sceptical will be constrained to acknowledge with Park, that at least

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three-fourths, and in all probability a much larger number, of the inhabitants of Western and Central Africa are in a state of slavery.

It may be well to devote a little attention to each of the above-mentioned particulars. And first, with regard to *the universal prevalence of the system.* All travellers, without exception, who have visited this unhappy country, confess its existence in every kingdom they have traversed.

You cannot follow them in the descriptions they have given of the numerous states through which they have passed, without feeling yourself everywhere in a land of slaves. Slavery stares you in the face on every hand; in every town and village which you enter, and in every dwelling to which you may be introduced—from the palace of the prince, to the humble domicile of the meanest of his subjects. "I know," said Colonel Nicholls, before the West African Committee of the House of Commons—"I know no other characters in Africa than master and slave." "Slavery and a slave trade," says M'Queen, "form the general law of Africa. These two evils reign acknowledged, sanctioned, known, recognised, and submitted to by all her population, of every rank and degree, throughout all her extended borders."

To the *hereditary character of African slavery* the testimonies are equally numerous and decisive. As, however, the slavery of Africa is not distinguished from that of other slaveholding countries in this particular, and it is in some sense essential to the continued existence of slavery itself, it only requires a passing notice. Suffice it to say, that Park, in Western, and Denham and Clapperton in the Northern and Central portion of

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the continent, concur in describing this feature of the system.

The *sources* of African slavery require a larger share of attention. The principal of these, according to Park, from whose volume of travels the following account is chiefly abridged, are these:—War—Famine—Insolvency—Crime.

1. A freeman may, by the established customs of Africa, by being taken in war, become a slave. Slavery, indeed, ever has been one of the dreadful concomitants of war all over the world. Prisoners of war in Africa are the slaves of the conqueror; and when the weak or unsuccessful warrior begs for mercy beneath the uplifted spear of his opponent, he gives up, at the same time, his claim to liberty, and purchases his life at the expense of his freedom.

2. Famine is another source of slavery in Africa. Notwithstanding the superabundant fertility of most parts of the country, this direful calamity is not unknown, either through drought or neglect of cultivation; or, still more frequently, as the effect of desolating wars, in which, just as the crops are reaching maturity, the enemy fires, and destroys the whole. According to Park, there are many instances of freemen voluntarily surrendering their liberty, to save themselves from starvation. During a great scarcity which lasted for three years, in the countries of the Gambia, great numbers of people became slaves in this manner. It often, however, happens that parents, who, in all parts of Africa, have unlimited authority over their children, are guilty of the inhuman practice of selling their own offspring to purchase provision for themselves and the rest of their families.

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An instance of this kind is recorded by Park. It occurred in Wonda, a small town in Manding. It is thus related by him. "The scarcity of provisions was felt at this time most severely by the poor people, as the following circumstances most painfully convinced me. Every evening during my stay, I observed five or six women come to the *mansa's* house, and receive each of them a certain quantity of corn. As I knew how valuable this article was at this juncture, I inquired of the *mansa* whether he maintained these poor women from pure bounty, or expected a return when the harvest should be gathered in? 'Observe that boy,' said he, pointing to a fine child about five years of age, 'his mother has sold him to me for forty days' provision. I have bought another boy in the same manner.' I could not get this melancholy subject out of my mind; and the next night, when the women returned for their allowance, I desired the boy to point out to me his mother, which he did. She was much emaciated, and when she received her corn, she came and talked to her son with as much cheerfulness as though he had been under her care."

Famine in a land boundlessly rich in all kinds of natural wealth, and where vegetation luxuriates so as almost spontaneously to supply the wants of man! Where is the hand of cultivation, and what must be the condition of the people where such scenes can exist in such a country? A mother giving her son in exchange for "forty days' provision," and cheerfully conversing with the child, as though he were still her own! Is this humanity? How fallen, and degraded, and without natural affection! Then woman *can* forget her

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sucking child, and cease to have compassion on the son of her womb! In Africa she does.

Another still more deeply affecting case, painfully justifying this melancholy reflection, is recorded by Lander. In this it will be observed that the inhuman mother parted with her child, not from want, but from a mere love of finery, and for the most trifling consideration.

"The Bowchee people," says Lander, "appear to have no affection for their offspring; the gentle appeals of nature are unknown to them; parental tenderness dwells not in their bosoms, and they sell their children as slaves to the greatest strangers in the world, with no greater remorse of conscience than if they had been common articles of merchandise.

"A travelling slave-dealer, passing through the place, purchased several of their children of both sexes, from the inhabitants, and amongst others, a middle-aged woman had an only daughter, whom she parted with for a necklace of beads. The unhappy girl, who might have been about thirteen or fourteen years of age, on being dragged away from the threshold of her parent's hut, clung distractedly, like a shipwrecked mariner to a floating mast, round the knees of her unfeeling mother, and looking up wistfully in her countenance, burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming with vehemence and passion, 'O mother, do not sell me! What will become of me? What will become of you in your old age, if you suffer me to desert you? Who will fetch your corn and milk? Who will pity you when you die? Have I been unkind to you? O mother, do not sell your only daughter! I will take you in my

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arms, when you are feeble, and carry you under the shade of trees. As a hen watches over her chickens, so will I watch over you, my dear mother. I will repay the kindness you showed me in my infant years. When you are weary, I will fan you to sleep; and whilst you are sleeping, I will drive away flies from you. I will attend on you when you are in pain; and when you die, I will shed rivers of sorrows over your grave. O my mother, dear mother, do not push me away from you! do not sell your only daughter to be the slave of a stranger!' Useless tears! vain remonstrance! The unnatural, relentless parent, shaking the beads in the face of her only child, thrust her from her embraces, and the slave dealer drove the agonised girl from the place of her nativity, which she was to behold no more."

3. The third source of African slavery is insolvency. Of all the cases to which the customs of Africa have affixed the doom of slavery, this, according to Park, is the most common. A negro trader contracts debts on some mercantile speculation, either from his neighbours, to purchase such articles as will sell to advantage in a distant market, or from the European traders on the coast; payment to be made in a given time. In both cases, the condition of the adventurer is precisely the same. If he succeeds, he may secure an independency; if he is unsuccessful, his person and services are at the disposal of another; for, in Africa, not only the effects of the insolvent, but even the insolvent himself, are sold to satisfy the demands of the creditor.

This subject, in connexion with British settlements on the coast of Africa, engaged the attention of the West African committee. From the evidence adduced,

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it appeared that a modified form of slavery, under the denomination of "pawns," had, from cases of insolvency, and in some such a manner as that above described, grown into existence on British territory. "A pawn," according to one of the witnesses examined, "is a man who runs into debt, and in order to pay his debt, he pawns himself, until he redeems himself." According to governor Maclean, "pawns may be described as servants voluntarily serving for an indefinite length of time; but who can, at any moment, leave their masters, either by paying their debts from their own resources, or by procuring other masters." Such individuals are, however, to all intents and purposes, slaves. The witness quoted above acknowledged that he had "known both slaves and pawns sold at public auction." Besides, their very circumstances render their slavery, in ordinary cases, perpetual. "They have sold themselves into a bondage from which they they can only be emancipated by pecuniary payments; and if not so emancipated, they must live and die in servitude." But from what source are the means of their emancipation to be derived, their persons no longer being their own? Hence Lord John Russell, in a letter to Captain Maclean, justly affirmed, "that the distinction between a pawn and slave is little more than nominal; and that Sir John Jeremie," in his proclamation to British settlements on the African coast, "rightly pronounced both systems to be an infringement of the acts of Parliament," abolishing slavery and the slave-trade throughout the British dominions.

As far as the British residents are concerned, the proclamation of Sir John Jeremie is said to have had

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the desired effect. The system, however, still prevails among the native population; if not within the forts, yet in their immediate vicinity. Thus, from the days of Mungo Park until the present hour, insolvency has proved in Africa a source of slavery.

4. The fourth source above enumerated, is the commission of crime, on which the customs of Africa affix slavery as a punishment. This appears to be one of the most common sentences which in Africa is passed upon a culprit. Almost all offences, without distinction, are visited in this way. Witchcraft, adultery, and murder, are equally threatened with a similar doom. This, however, is sometimes left to the discretion of the injured, who, in some instances, are permitted to accept a ransom. In the case of murder, the relatives are allowed to avenge the life of the victim by the death, instead of the enslavement of the murderer.

5. Another source of slavery in Africa is the prevalence of Mohammedanism. "That religion," says Major Gray, "not only gives an apparently Divine authority to the practice, but instils into the minds of its proselytes a conviction that all who are not, or will not become Mohammedans, were intended by Providence and their prophet to be the slaves and property of those who do."

6. Slavery is also nourished by the apprehension, on the part of the native princes, that it affords support to their own despotic dominion. "African chiefs," Major Gray remarks, "like the owners of slaves in other countries, think they have no security for their authority but the maintenance of their people in slavery."

7. To this must be added yet one other source of

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slavery in Africa, which exists more especially amongst the Mandingoes. Mohammedan priests are mostly the schoolmasters of the people, and both pagan and moslem parents are anxious to procure from them instruction for their children. It is the method of rewarding them for their services which here requires our attention. The scholars are considered, during the period of their education, as the domestic slaves of their master, and are therefore employed by him during the day, in planting corn, bringing firewood, and in other servile offices. When the term of instruction is completed, the parents receive an intimation of the fact, and it becomes needful for them to redeem their child by giving to the schoolmaster a slave or the price of a slave in exchange; nor can the scholar be liberated until this is done. If the parents are unable to furnish the ransom, he remains the domestic slave of the master until he can, by his own industry, collect goods sufficient to redeem himself. This not unfrequently is never within his power; in which case he continues in bondage till the day of his death.

Such are some of the sources of this unrighteous system as it exists in Africa; all of them calculated to cherish it, and some of them capable of increasing it to almost any degree.

The extent to which property in man is held in Africa will be still further seen in the *numerous uses* to which it is devoted.

1. Slaves are the principal article of barter in Africa. Major Denham, speaking of Angornu in Bornu, says, "Many kinds of merchandise are paid for in slaves." By the same authority we are informed, that the sultan

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of Sakatu receives tribute from his dependent states chiefly in slaves. Captain Beaver, who conducted the affairs of the Bulama Society in that island, remarks that "slaves are the money—the circulating medium by which African commerce is carried on." From a narrative preserved in one of the reports of the Church Missionary Society, of a negro who had passed through the hands of several masters in different parts of the interior, and who was at length carried on board a Portuguese vessel which, with its cargo of human beings, was captured by a British cruiser, and taken to Sierra Leone—from this narrative we learn that the unhappy man was first sold for a single hoe, then for some salt, and then again for some cloth, and so on successively till he was at last purchased by the European trader. In short, whatever commodity a man wants to buy in Africa, slaves are the means by which he may certainly procure it, and which, in numberless instances, he employs to obtain it.

2. Slaves, with some few exceptions, are the artisans and agricultural labourers of Africa. According to Park, hired servants—that is persons voluntarily working for pay—are unknown in Africa; and Major Gray declares that "the prejudices of the negro are such, and slavery has been so long continued, that no one having pretensions to superiority will perform any of those useful occupations which the best informed in civilised countries so usually attend to." The consequence is, that the manual labour of Africa almost exclusively devolves on its slave population.* The cultivation of the land,

* Except, indeed, that portion which falls to the lot of African wives and daughters, whose condition, in this respect will be

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and the care of the cattle, are the work of slaves. In Sakatu, such of the slaves as are not employed in domestic duties or in the labour of the field, are engaged in weaving, house-building, shoe-making, iron-work, and other trades. These are permitted to reside in separate houses; but their masters of course receive the produce of their exertions.

3. Slaves are the principal property of Africa, and the chief means of subsistence to its free population. The inhabitants of the great empire of Bornu are said to be rich "only in SLAVES, herds, and horses." On the fruits which the hands of his slave may rear, the African depends for his daily bread. His slave manufactures whatever clothing he may wear; and out of the overplus of his labours the master procures the luxuries he may desire, or in which he may be able to indulge himself. Slaves are the marriage bonus with which he purchases his wife; these usually constituting the largest portion of the bounty which the father receives in exchange for his daughter. And slaves, moreover, are the inheritance which the freeman leaves to his children; these, in all probability, being his only possession.

Such are the uses to which African slavery is devoted —the sources from which it is replenished—its hereditary character—and its universal prevalence.

This view of the degrading system forcibly demonstrates its fearful extent, and exhibits it as an evil gigantic as the vast continent suffering under its withering curse.

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noticed when the subject of female degradation comes to be considered.

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SECTION III.

ANOTHER inquiry of deepest interest and importance is, WHAT IS THE CONDITION OF THE SLAVE OF AFRICA. In replying to this inquiry it must be confessed that our means of information are slender, and the sources to which we must appeal not unfrequently the testimony of those who, if not prejudiced in favour of the accursed system, do not appear to have felt that holy indignation against it which a just sense of its enormity cannot fail to arouse. "Slavery," however, let it be borne in mind, "wherever it exists is the same moral deformity—the same crime before God; and ought to be viewed with detestation, and reprobated with boldness by every man who professes to act on Christian principles."

In the first place, the slaves of Africa, like those of all other slave-holding nations, have no property in themselves. Their bones, their blood, their sinews, are not their own. They live and breathe and move—not for themselves, but for another; and HE is not the God who made them, but a fellow-mortal, who wrongfully lays claim to them, and, in defiance of all human rights, as a tyrant rules over them.

In most other respects, also, the slave of Africa labours under the same disabilities as his captive brethren in the rest of the world. Some advantages are, indeed, enjoyed by domestic slaves; that is, such as are born in a man's own house. It is said that among the Felátas, these—of course taking into account their unhappy condition as slaves—are in general well treated. In Ashanti, according to Bowdich, the good treatment

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of this class of slaves is in some measure provided for by the liberty they have of transferring themselves to any person whom they enjoin to make them his property, by invoking his death if he does not—an imperative appeal. And Park assures us, that among the Mandingoes, custom has established certain rules with regard to their treatment which it is thought dishonourable to violate. The authority of the master over the domestic slave extends only to a limited correction for what his possessor may deem an offence. Very favourable, moreover, is the testimony of Dr. Madden in relation to the treatment of the slave population of Cape Coast. On being asked by the chairman of the West African Committee, whether he had an opportunity of forming an opinion of the state of domestic slavery, he replied, "I think I had. In that neighbourhood it is a particularly mild system of servitude: with the exception of severities I have known on the part of mussulmen, it is the mildest servitude that I ever knew. It is more for domestic purposes than for any prædial purposes; and even where it is employed for prædial purposes, I must say that, both on the part of mussulmen and on the part of pagans, their slaves are treated with infinitely more mercy than they are by Christians." It is also the dictate of impartial justice to acknowledge that even slaves are sometimes raised to posts of honour and dignity by the favouritism of African princes. An instance of this kind is afforded in the case of Barca Gana, to whom allusion has before been made. But it is to be observed—as was proved in the bitter experience of this very individual—the same power

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which exalts may abase, and reduce the slave raised to the command of an army and the government of cities, in a single moment, to his former degradation.*

From such testimonies as these, it would seem that the condition of the negro slave is superior on his native soil to what it is on the blood-stained shores of America, and of our European colonies; and that even the tyranny of the semi-barbarous African over his slave is hardly so remorseless and cruel as that of the polished and enlightened white man.

But still the African captive *is a slave*; and Mungo Park confesses that he is treated with unkindness or severity according to the caprice of his master; while none of those restrictions and advantages which have been mentioned in favour of domestic slaves, have any existence to protect or benefit the slave purchased with money, or captured in war, or obtained by other accidental circumstances. Cruelties, moreover, the most barbarous are, beyond a question, frequently practised; as the following affecting portion of the negro narrative already referred to painfully shows: "When I came to that place I was quite faint; for I had been without food some time. I began to weep, and fell to the ground. My master took his hand, and knocked me about the head, saying that he would kill me and eat me. I thought then that all was over. I expected that the dagger would be driven into my bowels every moment. . . I was so hungry I thought I should have died." In Ashanti, the master may kill his slave without exposing himself to the smallest

* Barca Gana was, however, subsequently restored.

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amount of punishment; and, as will hereafter be fully shown, at their annual customs, and on other occasions, numbers are slain in sacrifice. Where life may be thus taken away with impunity, what security can there be against the commission of other enormities? To this it may be added, that in some of the great as well as the smaller kingdoms of Africa, the female part of the slave population are commonly and systematically let out for the hire of prostitution, and are liable to the grossest abuses to which their savage masters may choose to subject them.

Such is slavery in Africa, and such the extent to which it prevails. Here the guilty system exists as in its great stronghold, and here alas! it apparently threatens to defy every effort to accomplish its immediate extinction. Great Britain, at a noble sacrifice, has abolished slavery throughout all her dominions. Every other European nation must soon follow in her steps; and America, notwithstanding all her efforts to silence the voice and arrest the march of freedom, must, at no distant period, either consent to the extinction of slavery, or be destroyed by slavery herself. But slavery, driven from every other land, there is too much reason to apprehend, will still—unless, indeed, Christ and his gospel interpose—have an existence in Africa. Though here, blessed be God, it will find its last asylum, and its final home; and buried amidst the execrations of the world, a year of jubilee be proclaimed to every remaining captive amongst the children of men.

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SECTION IV.

AFRICA TRADES WITH FOREIGN NATIONS IN THE FLESH AND BLOOD OF HER OWN POPULATION. This is a subject so well understood, and has been laid with such terrible force of conviction upon "the national conscience of Great Britain," by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, that little more can or need be said with regard to it. All, therefore, which will be attempted here, will be to exhibit some of its direful effects upon the unhappy continent, which it still continues to waste and destroy.

It has been shown, that the slave trade, instead of decreasing, has been fearfully augmenting, and at this moment is carried on more extensively than at any former period.* Two hundred thousand Africans are annually sold into hopeless captivity, while it is computed, that in the various departments of the accursed traffic, more than five hundred thousand lives are annually lost to this unhappy country.

Such a desolating system cannot be annually sweeping away the population of Africa, without being attended with consequences the most disastrous. It cannot even terminate with the loss of life and of liberty to so many thousands of human beings, but must affect the very vitals of society, and involve every

* More recent accounts represent that the slave-trade has been, to some extent, driven from some of its former lurking-places, and hopes are entertained that it has suffered some diminution.

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member of the community in an incalculable amount of physical calamity and moral evil.

In describing a system which we deprecate, we are sometimes in danger of drawing an exaggerated picture; but, in the case of the slave trade, exaggeration is impossible; and we may be well assured, that neither the suffering it inflicts, nor the demoralising influence it exerts, will ever be fully known.

1. The slave trade renders Africa a perpetual scene of bloodshed and rapine, for one tribe is continually making war upon another tribe, for the sake of the prisoners obtained in the contest. On this subject Sir Fowell Buxton writes—

"On the authority of public documents, parliamentary evidence, and the works of African travellers, it appears, that the principal and almost the only cause of war in the interior of Africa is, the desire to procure slaves for traffic; and that every species of violence, from the invasion of an army to that of robbery by a single individual, is had recourse to for the attainment of this object."

In confirmation of these statements, he has produced the most ample testimonies. For these, the reader is referred to the work of this distinguished philanthropist.

The following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Fox, dated St. Mary's, Gambia, 13th July, 1841, and published in the Appendix to the Report of the West African Committee, will show that the slave wars of Africa are not the events of a by-gone period:—"The day after you sailed, I embarked for M'Carthy's Island, and while there, an alarm was

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given on Thursday morning, the 10th ult., that the island was attacked. The soldiers and militia were, consequently, immediately turned out; the former, with one or two field-pieces, proceeding to the supposed place of attack; the militia, in the mean time, guarding the barracks and town; but it turned out as I expected, namely, some warriors had fallen upon two or three small towns, near the south-east end of M'Carthy's Island, and those of them that could escape fled to M'Carthy's Island for safety and protection. This is only one instance of a great many that have come under my notice, of these desperate, marauding banditti. It appears, on this occasion, it was some Futa Fulás, and Cabu Mandingoes, who came down and fell upon a town called Barsansang, and another town called Bruko, not more than two or three miles from the south-east end of M'Carthy's Island, and report says, they took away an immense number of cattle, and about 200 slaves. Some few of these will probably be redeemed at double price, and the rest will be sent down to the coast, and sold to those horrible dealers in this nefarious and abominable traffic."

The manner in which these predatory excursions are carried on, and which, in some instances, are annual occurrences, is diabolical in the extreme. Major Denham says, "On attacking a place, it is the custom of the country instantly to fire it; and, as they (the villages) are all composed of straw huts only, the whole is shortly devoured by flames. The unfortunate inhabitants fly quickly from the devouring element, and fall immediately into the hands of their

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no less merciless enemies, who surround the place. The men are quickly massacred, and the women and children lashed together and made slaves." Speaking in another place, of an expedition which he himself accompanied, he states, that "Darkalla was quickly burnt, and another smaller town near it, and the few inhabitants who were found in them, chiefly infants, and aged persons, were put to death without mercy and thrown into the flames."

Similar to these accounts, is the description of Laird, who ascended the Niger, and its tributary the Tschadda, in 1832. He says, speaking of the incursions of the Felátas, "Scarcely a night passed but we heard the screams of some unfortunate beings that were carried off into slavery by these villainous depredators. The inhabitants of the towns in the route of the Felátas, fled across the river on the approach of the enemy." "A few days after the arrival of the fugitives, a volume of smoke rising in the air above five miles above the confluence, marked the advance of the Felátas; and, in two days afterwards, the whole of the towns, including Addah Cuddah, and five or six others, were in a blaze. The shrieks of the unfortunate wretches who had not escaped, answered by the loud wailings and lamentations of their friends and relations, encamped on the opposite bank of the river, at seeing them carried off into slavery, and their habitations destroyed, produced a scene which, though *common enough in the country*, had seldom, if ever before, been witnessed by European eyes; and showed to me, in a more striking light than I had hitherto beheld it, the horrors attendant upon slavery."

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Such are the wars which, in supplying victims for the slave trade, are incessantly working confusion and desolation in Africa. Let the reader pause for a moment, and consider these scenes of bloodshed, iniquity, and woe. Here is a vast continent, divided into states and kingdoms almost innumerable, whose inhabitants might be living in peace and friendship, bound together by reciprocal interests, for the protection and well-being of each other. But alas! how do we behold them?—not compacted together as one happy brotherhood of nations; but torn asunder by bitter animosities, universal discord, and endless warfare—each performing to each other the office of a minister of vengeance, destroying, and in turn being destroyed. What picture more horrible is it possible to contemplate?

The effects of war, under any circumstances, and for a period, however limited, are dreadful: but where this great scourge of mankind is incessantly inflicting its cruelties, or goes forth like an annual pestilence, to the work of misery and death; and where the blessings of a truce are hardly ever heard of—but as long as there are people to capture, and destroy, manacles are never wanting to enslave them, or the fire and sword to consume them—war must indeed be fruitful beyond all imagination in evil, and entail an amount of calamity and crime exceeding all human computation.

2. The slave trade operates to the discouragement of agriculture, and the suppression of legitimate commerce.

These are the two great sources of subsistence to the nations of the earth, and in proportion as these

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are in a flourishing condition, have men the rightful means of enjoyment, and the capabilities of advancing in the scale of social improvement. To suppress or discourage these, therefore, is to rob a people of their choicest boon; and whatever operates in this way cannot be other than a heavy curse. This curse, then, the slave trade is to Africa.

That it operates to the discouragement of agriculture, is evident, from the nature of the case. What motive can there be to till and to sow, where the desolations of almost incessant warfare forbid the prospect of reaping the fruits of agricultural labour? To this, it may be added, that a "slave dealing chief, who neglects his own plantation, will not suffer his subjects to acquire wealth from independent sources, and the quantity of land which any one is permitted to plant is, therefore, narrowly limited."

We are not, however, left to mere speculation about the nature of the case. We have plain, substantial facts. On the coast, where the effects of the slave trade are most severely felt, the cultivation of the soil is but very partially attended to; while, as you advance into the interior, the face of the country continues to improve, and in some parts cleared of wood and covered with corn, presents an appearance the most luxuriant and beautiful. Nor can it be questioned, that the slave trade is the almost exclusive cause of this difference; for no sooner is this horrid system banished from a district, than "the natives show a fair and reasonable desire for cultivating the productions of their country," and lands, which had before been a wilderness, are speedily covered with fertility.

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"Mr. Rendall, who was at St. Louis, on the Senegal, from 1813 to 1817, states, that 'at that time, when the place was in the possession of the English, and the surrounding population were led to believe, that the slave trade was irrevocably abolished; they, in consequence, betook themselves to cultivating the soil, and every available piece of land was under tillage. The people passed from one village to another without arms, and without fear, and every thing wore an air of contentment.' Mr. Rendall was there again after the place had been made over to France, and 'then,' he says, 'the slave-trade, in all its horrors, had revived; vessels were lying in the river to receive cargoes of human flesh, the country was laid waste, *not a vestige of cultivation was to be seen*, and no one dared to leave the limits of his village without the most ample means of protection."

With facts like these before us, the influence of the slave trade, in presenting an effectual barrier to the cultivation of the soil, cannot be doubted. And this very fact must render it apparent, that the abominable traffic must be equally baneful *in the suppression of legitimate commerce.*

Sir Fowell Buxton has proved, beyond a question, that Africa possesses within herself capabilities which, if made available, would enable her to engage in a lawful commerce with Great Britain and the world, the most extensive and profitable. He has also shown, that the nations of Africa thirst, beyond measure, for those very articles, which their more civilised neighbours have to dispose of, and which they are anxiously

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desirous of giving in exchange for the raw materials which Africa might afford. And yet, notwithstanding, as the work of Sir Fowell Buxton has demonstrated, the whole of the exports of this vast continent are only a fraction of what its almost boundless resources might supply.

These are strange, but undeniable facts. Nor can any sufficient explanation of them be found, besides the acknowledged prevalence of that horrid system which both absorbs and enervates the energies of this wretched country.

If, however, it be clear, that, under the influence of the slave trade, the soil of Africa is left, to a vast extent, uncultivated, and its rich productiveness untried by the hand of the husbandman, the trifling amount of its legitimate traffic is at once accounted for. Africa has no manufactures to offer for sale. Its lawful commerce, therefore, must be limited to the productions of the country, and consequently, whatever is in the way of the culture of the latter, must be a barrier to its engaging in the former.

It is also to be considered, that nothing is so essential to the carrying on of commercial speculations, as a consciousness of security. But what security can there be for the peaceful trader, under the prevalence of a system, the very existence of which involves, in every stage of its operation, wholesale plunder and murder?

But here, again, we have the fullest evidence in matters of simple fact. In those parts of the coast which the slavers visit, the honest merchant is

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frequently kept waiting for weeks, while the trader in human flesh is supplied with his miserable cargo. Of this, the following extracts from a note to page 340 of Sir Fowell Buxton's work, are ample confirmation.

"The industry of the natives is stifled, in a great degree, by the slave trade, and though a good deal of oil is prepared and sold, the English traders, loading at the mouth of the river, are often interrupted and obliged to wait, to the loss of profit, and the ruin of the crews' health, while a smuggling slaver takes all hands on board, to complete her cargo.—*Laird.*"

"When there is a demand for slaves, the natives abandon every other employment, and the consequence is, that British vessels trading on the coast, are lying idle for the want of trade."

"In consequence of the great demand for slaves, the natives here, and in the interior, abandon cultivation, the trees go to destruction, and no young trees are planted."

"At one place in Africa, where a very considerable quantity of palm oil has been supplied to the ships of our merchants, the Spanish, and Portuguese, have latterly so much increased the slave trade, that the cultivation of the palm trees, which was giving occupation to thousands, has not only become neglected, but the native chiefs have been incited to blind revenge against British influence, and have set fire to and destroyed 30,000 palm trees.—*Recent letters from Africa.*"

To this may be added, a brief extract from the evidence of Captain the Hon. J. Denman, R.N., before the "Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa."

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He was asked, "Is it not your opinion that it has been owing to the preference given to Spanish slave dealers, that British merchants have not sooner established themselves at the Gallinas, and carried on commercial pursuits there?" To this he replied, "In my Report to the governor of Sierra Leone, upon the state and prospects of trade in the Gallinas, in page 15 of the printed papers, I say, 'When the English slave trade was abolished, considerable traffic sprung up, and was rapidly increasing when the Spaniards commenced the slave-trade in about 1817. From that time, legitimate commerce gradually withered, and was at length totally annihilated by the establishment of a permanent slave factory, in shore, about fifteen years ago, by Pedro Blamo, at that time mate of a slave vessel. Since then, the slave trade has been the only pursuit, and during the long period that has since elapsed, not enough produce has been exported to form the cargo of the smallest coasting vessel."

These facts speak volumes, and—setting aside the plunder, bloodshed, and murder, which, from beginning to end, are associated with the shameful traffic in human flesh—exhibit this abomination as a terrific curse, withering the choicest interests of this great continent—great for territorial magnitude, but yet not greater, in this respect, than it might be for all that ennobles and dignifies humanity.

3. Once more, the slave trade fosters a state of barbarism—loosens all the ties of nature—debases the morals of the people—and constitutes one of the principal obstacles to the progress of Christian instruction.

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It fosters a state of barbarism. True it is, that Africa was barbarous before the slave trade commenced its dreadful career; and, hence, in the words of M'Queen, Africa's great geoprapher, it must be confessed, that, in a primary sense, "the African slave trade is not the cause of African ignorance and barbarity, but the consequence thereof." But who can calculate what Africa might now have been, but for the influence of this inhuman traffic, or in how great a degree it has aggravated the wretchedness of her condition? The execrable system has, unquestionably, contributed much towards reducing Africa to what she is, and operates, most powerfully, in preventing her from rising from the dust in which she is prostrated.

Who, that fairly considers each department of the horrid trade, can for a moment doubt it. It tends to render every individual who engages in it, a monster of inhumanity. What a barbarous savage must he be—let the nation to which he belongs be ever so civilised and refined—who, bearing across the Atlantic his cargo of wretched victims, does not hesitate, under apprehension of capture, and in order to save the remnant of his property, to murder the whole, by committing them to the waves. Yet, such are the hardened villains, who command slave trading vessels, and whom, surely nothing besides a system so barbarous in its tendency could have rendered what they are.

But if the slave trade thus operate upon the native of enlightened Europe, what must be its influence upon the semi-barbarous African?—what but to chain him down to his present degradation, and make him more barbarous than he is? What are the slaving

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chiefs upon the coast? "They have been rendered habitual drunkards by the spirits which slave ships supply; as slave factors, they have been steeled against all compassion, and all sympathy with human suffering." And how far in advance must be the slave dealer of the interior, who collects and then conducts his gang of miserable captives, like a herd of cattle, to the European markets, inflicting upon them, as he journeys, the most revolting cruelties? And what, to proceed one step farther back in the slave trading process, must that monarch and his people be, who annually sally forth in slaving expeditions, to harry, to capture, and to murder, the innocent and the defenceless? Men must indeed be barbarous, before such a system of cruelty, even in its mildest form, could prevail; but who will dispute that its continued prevalence has a fearful tendency to foster and increase the barbarism which may have had a prior existence?

Again, *it loosens all the ties of humanity.* Domestic associations bind man to man; and the combined force of these constitutes the strength of nations. But how loosely must all family connexions be held in a country where the tenderest ties are incessantly in danger of being severed? The poor negro, when, with his wife and children, he takes his repose, cannot assure himself that the grasp of the man-hunter will not arouse him from his slumbers, tear him from the home of his childhood and the sharers of his enjoyments, such as they may be, and consign himself and all who are dear to him to endless slavery. In such a condition of society, what wonder if the mother should,

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as indeed we have seen she does, forget her sucking child, and cease to have compassion on the son of her womb? Such is the state of feeling which the trade in human flesh engenders in Africa.

The slave trade, still farther, *demoralises the minds of the people, and constitutes one of the chief obstacles in the way of communicating Christian instruction.* Its demoralising influence must be abundantly evident from what has already been advanced. What morality is to be expected in those whose ears are as familiar with the sound of the war-whoop, as with the rustling of the wind; and many of whom, having no stated mode of subsistence, live by enslaving the persons, and by plundering the property of each other? But the influence of slavery and the slave trade, in debasing the morals of those amongst whom these abominations exist, has been so frequently and so eloquently set forth, that to expatiate on the subject would only be intruding on the reader a feeble repetition of an often-told tale.

Nor need much be said of the shameful traffic, as an obstacle to the progress of Christian truth. It must suffice to remark, that such it has ever proved in every attempt which has hitherto been made for the evangelisation of this benighted quarter of the globe. Hence, in most cases, or till very recently, our missionary societies have been compelled to seek an asylum for their agents in British settlements on the African coast; and just as the efforts of the Church Missionary Society among the Susus were beginning to afford some prospect of remuneration for an enormous expenditure

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of life and property, the mission premises were destroyed by the hand of violence, and the missionaries were compelled to abandon the station.

Such are the direful effects of this greatest of all practical evils which has ever afflicted mankind. It renders Africa a continual scene of rapine, bloodshed, and murder. It operates in the discouragement of agriculture, and the suppression of legitimate commerce. It fosters a state of barbarism, loosens all the ties of humanity, demoralises the minds of the people, and opposes the bestowment of the only sufficient recompense we have to offer for their accumulated wrongs,—the only effectual remedy we have to administer for the cure of their multiplied diseases.

Direful, however, as these effects unquestionably are, and most calamitous of all as is the fact that an obstacle should thus be presented to the introduction of the civilising and saving truths of Christianity, we do not despair. Africa is to a considerable extent under the dominion of the most savage despotism,—a land of slaves and trades in the flesh and blood of her own population; but her case, though deplorable, is not hopeless. The Lord God omnipotent reigneth. He is the Author of the gospel, and it is his purpose that it shall prevail. Nor can we better conclude this chapter on the condition of this injured and degraded country, than by comforting ourselves with an assurance in which even Africa is comprehended: "THE KINGDOMS OF THIS WORLD SHALL BECOME THE KINGDOMS OF OUR GOD AND OF HIS CHRIST, AND HE SHALL REIGN WHOSE RIGHT IT IS."

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CHAPTER II.

POLYGAMY — UNIVERSAL PREVALENCE — EXTENT — CONSEQUENCES — DEGRADATION OF WOMAN — NO PROPERTY IN HERSELF — WIFE SUPPORTS HUSBAND — TYRANNY OF HUSBAND — LIABILITY TO DIVORCE — OCCUPATIONS — CRIME — DRUNKENNESS — LYING — THEFT, &c.

SECTION I.

THE next feature in the moral and social condition of Africa is the prevalence of polygamy.

Marriage, the ordination of God himself, when observed according to its original appointment, is a source of abounding blessing to the world. The ties it forms, the connexions it maintains, the tender endearments which, in all the relations of the social circle it creates, and the many interests which it unites together, make it the bond of society, and the stability of a state. But where polygamy is adopted, and men make this appointment a means of gratifying their own licentiousness, instead of answering the simple purpose for which God designed it, all its happy effects are wanting, and consequences the most disastrous ensue. The condition of Africa, at this very moment, is an ample confirmation of these remarks.

1. In Africa, as well as in many other heathen countries, polygamy is universal. This is uniformly

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attested by all who have traversed the continent. "Polygamy is allowed both by Mohammedans and pagans." "Polygamy is universal." "Every man of free condition has a plurality of wives." This is the way in which African travellers speak of it.

2. The extent to which this unrighteous and licentious custom is practised, is fearful in the extreme. A very considerable portion of Africa is under the influence of Mohammedanism. One of the most prominent and pernicious features of this false system is the toleration of polygamy. In Mohammedan countries, therefore, it is not only sustained by the evil propensities of a depraved nature; but is supported and nurtured by the sanctions of religion. Here, consequently, it may be said to have the deepest root, if it does not prevail to the greatest extent.

The Koran does indeed impose some limitations as to the number of a man's wives. The followers of the prophet are usually restricted to five; and in those Mohammedan dominions where the dictates of the false apostle are implicitly obeyed, this number is not exceeded. In many countries, however, this is far from being the case. In Darfur, for instance, Browne declares that the inhabitants "are but indifferent moslems. Polygamy," he says, "is practised without any limitation, and little or no regard is paid to decency in their unbridled licentiousness. The sultan of Darfur has more than a hundred free women; and the meleks from twenty to thirty each."

Such is the extent to which polygamy is adopted even in Mohammedan countries. In pagan kingdoms it prevails almost to an incredible degree; it does not,

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indeed, exist everywhere to the same extent. Robertson, speaking of Cape Lahu, says, "Polygamy extends to the number of six or eight wives." In Awane, on the coast of Benin, he declares that, although polygamy is allowed to any extent, the number of wives actually kept by people of consequence is generally not more than three or four."

But however it may be limited in these districts, in many it knows scarcely any restriction. Robertson himself declares, that in the country of the Cameroons polygamy is extended to "excessive numbers." Coona, a Krooman, in his evidence before the Committee on the West Coast of Africa, and in answer to the inquiry, "How many wives have any of the men in your country?" replied, "Some men have twenty wives in my country,—some men have more than that." In Kaarta, according to Major Gray, polygamy is carried to a "frightful extent." "Many private individuals," he says, "have ten wives, and as many concubines. The princes, for the most part, have no fewer than thirty of each; while Modiba, the king, is said to have one hundred wives, and more than two hundred concubines." According to the narrative of the liberated African, the king of Bambarra had no less a number than two hundred wives. Major Denham incidentally informs us, speaking of the eunuchs of the sultan of Begharmi, that he was said to have nearly one thousand wives. Laird and Oldfield have assured us that the number of the wives of the king of Attah is two thousand; and that they themselves were introduced to five hundred of these.

In the great empires of Ashanti, Dahomy, and Ya-

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riba, polygamy is carried to an extent still more fearful. In Ashanti, the laws allow the king to have three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives. This number is always kept up; it is, however, never exceeded, being considered, though for what reason does not appear, a mystical one. In Dahomy, the king's seraglio consists of between three and four thousand women. Mr. Norris saw seven hundred and thirty of the wives of this monarch, who marched in file, bearing liquors and provisions upon their heads; and these were followed by many hundreds more, classed in troops of seventy each, who walked in greater state. His principal men, moreover, have from one to three or four hundred wives each, and people in humbler stations from six to twenty. In Yariba, even a caboceer has been known to possess two thousand wives; while the king of that country told Clapperton that he did not know how many wives and children he had; but he was sure that his wives alone, hand to hand, would reach from Katunga, the capital, to Jannah. On one occasion, he visited the traveller with five hundred of this domestic band.

Such is the almost incredible extent to which this most baneful practice prevails throughout every part of Western and Central Africa.

3. What is the result? No small part of the present degradation of this unhappy country may fairly be traced to it. One inevitable consequence is to make one passion, and that the strongest of which human nature is the subject, sovereign and all-controlling. The gratification of this one passion is made almost the sole end of life. It hence becomes all-absorbing, and

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lays all else tributary to itself. That this is in truth the case, the condition and habits of African society bear too ample testimony. Major Denham, for example, speaks of Bornu as a country where "love and war are the chief occupations of the people, and where one of the greatest incitements to the latter is the desire of unbounded indulgence in the former."

This is one, but not the only effect of polygamy, as it prevails in Africa. Major Gray, speaking of it as the crying sin and main spring of the pernicious tendency of Mohammedanism, remarks, "Polygamy is the fruitful source of jealousy and distrust; it contracts the parental and filial affections; it weakens and disjoints the ties of kindred; and, but for the unlimited influence of the Maraboos, and the fear of hell, must totally unhinge the frame of all society. The father has many wives; the wives have many children; favouritism, in its most odious forms, sets in; jealousy is soon aroused, and revenge unsheaths the sword which deals forth destruction.

"But it is not to the domestic circle—it is not to the family arrangements—it is not to the fearful mischiefs it leads to upon the social system," he adds, "that I look alone; but to its division of the soil, and to its mutilation of the different states, than which nothing can prove more destructive to a country. The jealousies of the mothers, while exciting to domestic hatred, lead to external civil war; and states rise and set with a sort of harlequin operation; and when they are sought for, vanish in the air, and 'leave not a wreck behind.' The consequence of these wars is, that during the precarious conquests of these chiefs,

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their whole employment is plunder; and where that cannot be procured, the forfeiture is life. All order and morality are upset, all right is unknown; and the effect must be the degradation of society, and the dismemberment of empire in that ill-fated portion of the world."

To feel the full force of these statements, it should be distinctly borne in mind that they are the result, not of mere speculation upon the abstract question of the legitimate effects of polygamy, but of personal observation of the diabolical working of the system which they deprecate.

Besides these evils, arising from so unequal a distribution of the sexes, another must be mentioned. Bowdich declares that, "there being so many women to one man, leads not only to occasional infidelity on their part, but that to an extent and under circumstances too revolting to be described, and scarcely to be credited."

But this is not all; open prostitution and the foulest crimes follow in the train. It might be expected that a great disparity existed between the sexes, and that the female portion of the community far outnumbered the male. This, however, does not appear to be the case. "Though polygamy," says the last-mentioned traveller, speaking of Ashanti, "is tolerated to such an excess among the higher orders, I do not think, from observation, that the proportion of women to men is two to one." What is the consequence? Vast numbers are unprovided with any domestic associate. The result is, the most shameless prostitution. In Ashanti and Dahomy it is authorised by the state, and a

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number of wretched beings are regularly licensed by the government for this purpose.

Such are some of the evils and the crimes which attend a system alike adverse to the Word of God, the dictates of justice, the provisions of nature, and the interests of society. These crimes pollute, and these evils afflict a whole continent of the world.

SECTION II.

INTIMATELY connected with polygamy, and in part, at least, resulting from it, is the degradation of woman in Africa.

It has often been remarked, that in proportion as nations have advanced in civilisation, the condition of woman has been improved, and that only in Christian countries has she been elevated to her proper rank. In Britain, woman is what she ought to be, man's companion, the nurse of his children, and the mistress of his home. In Africa her state is in all respects the most deplorable of which it is possible to conceive.

1. At no period of her existence can she be said to have a property in herself. The authority of parents over their children is generally unlimited, amounting to a right to dispose of them at pleasure. Before marriage, therefore, the daughter is the property of the parents, who exact from her whatever they choose, and, in some countries, as it has already been shown, sell her into slavery to the greatest stranger, if they think proper. In marriage she is literally sold to the highest bidder.

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Park, speaking of the Mandingoes, says, "If a man takes a fancy to any of them (the young women), it is not considered as absolutely necessary that he should make an overture to the girl herself: the first object is to agree with the parents concerning the recompense to be given them for the loss of the company and services of their daughter. The value of two slaves is a common price, unless the girl is thought very handsome, in which case the parents will raise the demand very considerably. If the lover is rich enough and willing to give the sum demanded, he then communicates his wishes to the damsel, but her consent is by no means necessary to the match; for, if the parents agree to it and eat a few kola nuts which are presented by the suitor as an earnest of the bargain, the young lady must either have the man of their choice or continue unmarried, for she cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents should attempt to do so, the lover is then authorised by the laws of the country to seize upon the girl and make her his slave."

Major Laing, speaking of the Timanees, says—"If a man forms an attachment, or, perhaps more correctly, takes a fancy to a girl, it is not considered requisite that he should learn whether or not the attachment is mutual. He carries to her parents a jar of palm wine or some rum if he can obtain it, and breaks to them the object of his visit; should his suit be approved, which it generally is, if the party is worth a few bars, he is invited to return, when another jar of palm wine, some kolas, a few fathoms of cloth, and some beads, generally terminate the negociation. The marriage day is then fixed, and the bride informed who her

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intended husband is to be. If the parents object to the worldly means of the suitor he departs, and, leaving the house, will work till he can procure a sufficiency to satisfy the demand; but, should any person in better circumstances step forward in the mean time, the girl may be betrothed away before the gallant returns."

According to the same authority, the practice of the Sulimas and Kurankoes is precisely similar—"the female is forced to unite herself to the man who will pay most for her." In the case of the latter, however, the condition of the woman is aggravated by the fact of her being seldom joined to a man of corresponding years. Marriage being merely an affair of business between the father and the husband; and the elders of the town, being generally possessed of most property—these have their undisputed choice.

In Ashanti, we are assured by Mr. Bowdich, that in the affair of courtship, the wishes of the female are but little consulted, the business being chiefly settled between the suitor and the parents. He, indeed, declares that "no Ashanti compels his daughter to become the wife of one whom she dislikes;" but he strangely adds, that if she refuse, as her husband, one of whom her father approves, he instantly withdraws from her his support and protection, and prohibits her mother also from affording her any aid or countenance whatever. This surely is a singular kind of liberty. The daughter must either marry the man of her father's choice, or become an exile from his house and home.

By the same authority we are informed, that infants are commonly married to infants, and, not unfrequently, to adult and even elderly men. The ceremony, in

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the latter case, is to send to the infant a piece of cloth worn round the middle, and to the mother a dash of gold: this completes the contract, and the child is thus made over by the parents to be the wife of the person so obtaining her.

In Timbuctu, according to Shabeeny, "A man agrees to pay a certain price to the father of his wife, and witnesses are called to support the proof of the contract."

The following extract from the Travels of Major Gray, on the Gambia, while it adds another testimony to the fact, that woman in Africa has no property in herself, also furnishes a most deplorable picture of the degraded condition of African society at large:—

"An instance," he says, "of the manner in which young men in that country obtain wives also came under my observation. One of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages having placed his affections, or rather desires, on a young girl at Kayaye, made the usual present of a few kolas to her mother, who, without giving her daughter any intimation of the affair, consented to his obtaining her in any way he could. Accordingly, when the poor girl was employed preparing some rice for supper, she was seized by her intended husband, assisted by three or four of his companions, and, notwithstanding the most violent resistance, carried off by force."

Such is marriage in Africa, in which the poor and degraded female, having no property in herself, is sold, like an article of merchandise, to the best purchaser.

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Nor after marriage is the condition of the African female in the least improved: it is, strictly speaking, true, that in marrying, she only changes proprietors, and, from being the property of her parents, becomes the property of her husband, when her chains are fastened more closely upon her. The accounts of African travellers afford the most decisive proof of this affecting fact.

Park says of the Mandingoes—"As the husband commonly pays a great price for each of his wives, he requires from all of them the utmost deference and submission, and treats them all more like hired servants than companions."

Mollien, in his account of the Yalloffs, classes the wife with the slave, and speaks of the husband as their common master.

It was stated by one of the witnesses before the West African Committee, that he had sometimes "seen a man sell one of his wives and his children by her."

Robertson, speaking of the inhabitants of the Cameroons, says, that the men impose upon the women the most absolute servility and submission. Describing the marriage ceremonies of the people of Cape Lahoo, he says—"The bride goes home in the evening, and becomes as much the husband's property as any of his slaves." He also relates a most barbarous and iniquitous practice which prevails in the vicinity of Cape Palmas, where, according to an established law, "the son inherits his father's wives, and even his own mother becomes his property." A similar practice prevails in the Cameroons. The present King Bell, on the death of his father, had only two wives; on this event, however,

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he made a selection from those who had belonged to the deceased king, and has now twenty-nine women, the great majority of whom were the wives of his own father.

To this may be added the testimony of one of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who says—"The poor female has very little control in her house. In going into any one of the native dwellings, it may be observed that the wife is looked upon as an inferior being; indeed she is seldom seen except as she toils through the town in the morning with a large vessel of water on her head, or as she stands grinding corn with her child at her back. The heathen female looks upon herself as the mere creature of man's convenience, and this idea she instils into the mind of her daughter."

2. Nor is this all—not only has woman, at no stage of her existence, no property in herself, but all the other features of her condition are in exact accordance with this humiliating fact. Instead of, as in Christian countries, the husband maintaining the wife, and thus, according to scripture, giving honour to the weaker vessel, in many parts of Africa *the woman supports the man*. In some places, indeed, it is the custom for the husband to retire upon his wives, as a tradesman in England retires upon his fortune. He labours with his own hands until he can purchase a sufficient number of wives to procure for him a subsistence, and then, making an end of his toils, he gives himself up to indolent ease and licentious enjoyment. This, according to Laird and Oldfield, is the practice of the Krumen, a remarkable race of men inhabiting Cape Palmas, and

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who labour on board European vessels trading along the African coast. The following is their account:—

"The great object of the Kruman is to get as many wives as will support him in idleness in his own country; the instant therefore, he has earned and stolen money enough to purchase one, he sets out with two or three of his companions in a canoe for the Kru country. On his arrival, he lays his treasures before the father of his intended, and, if they are considered sufficient, he enjoys her society for a week. He then leaves her with her family, to set about obtaining another by his next trip. He returns to Sierra Leone, and goes on board a ship upon the coast to earn the price of a second wife, and he repeats the process until he has a colony of wives at Cape Palmas, or its neighbourhood; and then retires from active life, not upon his fortune, but upon his wives—they supporting him in dignified idleness by their labour."

3. Still further, the husband holding his wives in a condition little or nothing removed from his slaves, treats them with the same imperious air, and exacts from them all the outward expressions of the most abject submission. In most parts of Africa, the husband does not allow the wife to dwell under the same roof with himself. In Sulima, according to Major Laing, "women are obliged to conceal their faces when they eat in the presence of men." In Bornu, according to Major Denham, "they never approach their husbands except on their knees, nor do they ever speak to any of the male sex except with the head and face covered, and kneeling." In Darfur, Browne represents the condition of females as being very humiliating—"Slaves indeed,"

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he says, "both male and female rarely draw near their master, if he be seated, except creeping on their hands and knees. A man who is possessed of several women rarely enters the apartments of any of them, but sends for one or more of them at a time to his own: whether free or slaves, they enter it on their knees, and with indications of the utmost timidity and reverence. The slaves are rarely allowed to wear any covering on their feet; freewomen, on the contrary, are ordinarily distinguished by a kind of sandal, which, however, is always taken off when they come into the presence of, or have occasion to pass a person of any consideration of the other sex."

4. To this it may be added, that, in some African countries, the wife is always liable to be divorced at her husband's pleasure. Major Denham, in his account of his travels in Central Africa, has occasion, more than once, to refer to cases of divorcement which came under his notice, and explains the fact of single women being so numerous in Kuka, on the ground of the frequency of divorces. "Marriage among the Felátas," according to Laird and Oldfield, "is merely a civil contract, to be dissolved when the man thinks proper. If a pagan pays his addresses to a girl, and, after a short time, finds she 'is all his fancy painted her,' he sends the parents a present of cloth, &c. If these articles are accepted, and the father considers them an equivalent for the loss of his daughter's services, the girl leaves her father's house; and, if a virgin, she is covered round her loins with a shawl or cloth presented by her lover, having worn nothing but a piece of leather or a few strings of cowries round the loins previously; dancing

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takes place, palm wine and beer are drunk, and all are happy for a time. Should the man in the course of time become tired of the girl, he sends her home giving her some present." In like manner, in Bussa, a man is said to be "at liberty to return his wife to her parents at any time, and without adducing any reason for his dislike and dissatisfaction. When this is his intention he treats his spouse with disrespect and unkindness, which she understands the meaning of, and, of her own accord, she goes back to her friends, and tells them of what has occurred. These subsequently repair in a body to the husband's house, and question him, in a formal manner, whether it is his desire that his wife should continue to abide with him? If not, the connexion is forthwith dissolved, and she is considered thenceforth in the light of an unmarried woman." Captain Bailey, in the course of his examination before the Committee of the West Coast of Africa, speaking of the natives in the vicinity of the Brass and Bonny Rivers, stated that "they generally had about forty wives, and that if any of them displeased them, they sold them."

5. The occupations of women in Africa are common- the meanest and most servile. In Darfur, Browne declares that "some of the most laborious offices are executed by women: they prepare the soil, sow the grain, gather in the crops; they alone, too, are engaged in the business of grinding and converting it into bread. They prepare the food, fetch the water, wash the apparel, and cleanse the apartments; even the clay buildings are constructed chiefly by women. It is not uncommon to see a man on a journey mounted idly

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on an ass, while his wife is pacing many a weary step on foot behind him, and, perhaps, carrying a supply of provisions or culinary materials."

Clapperton assures us that, in journeying from Yariba to Katunga, they found, "in every place, some of the wives, even of the monarch himself, trading for him, and, like other women of the common class, carrying large loads upon their heads from town to town."

Of the Sulimas, it is remarked by Major Laing, that, "in their domestic occupations, the men and women appear to have changed places. With the exception of sowing and reaping, the cares of husbandry devolve on the women, while the men attend to the dairy. The former are the masons, plasterers, &c., the latter employ themselves in sewing, not unfrequently in washing clothes."

In Ashanti also, it is said that, "the weightiest duties devolve upon the wife, who is to be found grinding at the mill, transacting business in the market-place, or cultivating the plantation. The females of the higher classes in Ashanti may indeed be exempt from such employments, but the condition of Fantee wives, in general, is similar to that in which Clapperton found the wives of the king of Yariba." Accordingly Hutton remarks that "the women of this country are considered so inferior to the men, that they are treated more like beasts of burden than women, and are made to carry heavy loads for their hushands, who look upon them as slaves."

Nor, is this assignment of the merest drudgery, and the hardest labour to the female sex, by any means confined to the above-mentioned countries; it is to be

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regarded as almost an universal feature in the constitution of African society. The labour of the wife and the slave are of a similar character, with the exception, perhaps, of a superintending power over the latter, with which the former may, in some instances be invested.

6. Such is the condition of woman in Africa; and, in such a condition woman is what she might be expected to be—immoral in her character, and demoralising in the influence which she exercises over the social system of which she forms a part.

Browne, speaking of the women of Durfur, says—"Their virtue is easily overcome." Similar is Clapperton's account of the population of Yariba. Major Laing gives a like description of the women of Sulimas. In the same manner does Robertson describe the women of the countries with which he was acquainted. The testimony of Bosman and Smith is precisely the same; the latter relating facts with the most barefaced audacity, alike disgraceful to himself, and indicative of the abounding wickedness of the wretched people of whom he speaks.

But it is needless to multiply testimonies. It must suffice to say, that almost all that is foul and black in the history of female depravity in other parts of the world is daily poisoning and darkening the moral atmosphere in which woman lives and moves in Africa.

If such, then, be woman, what must be man—what the children whom she bears—and what the state of society at large in which woman thus exists? In those countries where woman occupies the condition which rightfully belongs to her, and her character is what it

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ought to be, female influence is almost omnipotent, and every virtuous mind rejoices in its being so. "To them," to adopt the language of a popular and justly admired female writer, speaking of the "Women of England,"—"to them is committed the high and holy duty of cherishing and protecting the minor morals of life, from whence spring all that is elevated in purpose and glorious in action; and, though the sphere of their direct personal influence is central, and consequently small, its extreme operations are as widely extended as the range of human feelings. As far as the noble daring of Britain has sent forth her adventurous sons, and that is to every point of danger on the habitable globe, they have borne along with them a generosity, a disinterestedness, and a moral courage, derived in no small measure from the female influence of their native country."

Not so in Africa—the name of woman there possesses no such magic charm as in Britain: sunk in a condition of the lowest debasement, alike of morals and of mind, her influence is small; and even the little which she has, until her character be changed—and how shall that be, unless her social condition be improved?—it were most devoutly to be wished did not belong to her. Influence, doubtless, she has, but like nearly every other which at present acts upon unhappy Africa, it only tends to deepen its degradation and oppose the efforts which philanthropy may employ to remedy its evils. Depraved herself, woman in Africa, fosters whatever is evil in man, and instils into the minds of her offspring the same vicious principles which characterise herself.

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SECTION III.

ALMOST every crime which has polluted other parts of the heathen world is chargeable on Africa. A tale of licentious wickedness has already been unfolded from which every virtuous mind must instinctively recoil. A few facts, however, remain to be stated, without which a true idea of the moral and social condition of this degraded people cannot be formed.

The Darfurians, it is said, are "guilty of the most unbridled licentiousness, without the smallest regard to modesty or decency. In the gratification of their depraved passions no respect is paid to natural relations, and the most illicit connections are shamelessly formed." "The people of Kordofan are said to be indifferent to the amours of their daughters and sisters, and are even attached to their seducers." Major Gray speaks of an African prince who offered to prostitute his own sister. In Awane, the daughters of the king are the common prostitutes of the country; and, in the Cameroons, "except the few females whom the chiefs keep in restraint the women may be considered in common." The habits of the people here are a foul blot upon human nature.

Another crime which prevails in Africa is drunkenness.

The principal native liquors are of four distinct kinds. One of these is described by Major Gray, who says "We tasted some drink made from honey and millet, somewhat like mead, but from its acidity acquired by fermentation, and the non-use of bitters in its com-

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position, it had a very unpleasant effect upon the stomach." Another kind of intoxicating beverage is mentioned by Park; he says "The Africans are accustomed to make and drink a liquor which very much resembles the beer of our own country; it is made from corn which has been malted much in the same manner as barley is malted in Great Britain; a root yielding a grateful bitter is used instead of hops." A third kind is described by Capt. Clapperton, called *booza*; this, he says, is "made from a mixture of dhoura, honey, chilli, pepper, the root of a coarse grass on which the cattle feed, and a proportion of water; these are allowed to ferment in large earthen jars placed near a slow fire for four or five days, when the *booza* is drawn off into other jars, and is fit to drink: it is very fiery and intoxicating." The fourth intoxicating drink of Africa is palm wine. This is drunk in considerable quantities in all parts of the continent in which the palm tree grows.

But these are not the only intoxicating liquors which are drunk in Africa: unhappily for that wretched country ardent spirits have been introduced to its shores, and have largely contributed to the multiplication of calamity and crime. It would seem as though Europeans could not rest satisfied with carrying away the choicest of her children, but they must also leave behind them, and in exchange for these, that which must inevitably tend to demoralise and destroy her population.

Slave-trading vessels uniformly carry out large cargoes of spirituous liquors. Rum and brandy form no inconsiderable a portion of the articles given for the

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wretched victims of slave-trading cupidity. The following concise statement of the mercantile views of an African chief, given in evidence before a parliamentary committee, is abundantly expressive of this fact,—"We want three things—viz., powder, ball, and BRANDY; and we have three things to sell—viz., men, women, and children." Arms, ammunition, and *ardent spirits*, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton declares, form one-third of the goods imported into Central Africa. In the year 1841, according to the returns laid before the Parliamentary Committee on Western Africa, 101,424 gallons of ardent spirits were exported to the Senegal, Sierra Leone, and the Windward and Gold Coasts.

Nor is the slave-trader alone guilty in this matter; the legitimate merchant has much to answer for on this very score. Seldom or never does a trading vessel leave even the shores of Britain for Western Africa without having ardent spirits on board, as an important and, not unfrequently, principal article of commerce. Nor is this all: it is the practice of merchant ships to open their commercial engagements, on the African coast, with a gratuity of spirituous liquors. When a vessel arrives at a place of trade, a day is appointed for exposing the cargo to be sold for inspection, and settling the terms of traffic. On this day the trade-men are admitted on board, each bearing his calabash or drinking vessel in his hand, when a dash, as it is called, of brandy or rum is distributed before a single step in the way of trade is taken. So inveterate has this custom become, and so great is the thirst of the trade-men for spirituous liquors, that traders now plead, in excuse for its continuance, the impossibility of inducing the

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African to enter into any mercantile speculation without it. The force of this plea we shall not pretend to determine. These facts, however, are recorded for the sake of inviting attention to the subject, and solemnly invoking British merchants occupied in African trade, to abandon a practice, and the sale of an article, which cannot fail to weaken, if not totally to destroy, the benefits reasonably expected to result from the extension of legitimate commerce and the consequent suppression of the slave trade.

The evils ensuing from the introduction of ardent spirits into Africa may have been sufficiently weighed. Without calling in question the propriety of their moderate use, though even that is daily becoming increasingly questionable, it is universally confessed that their excessive indulgence is alike injurious to the physical, intellectual, and moral part of our constitution, and, therefore, detrimental to the best interests both of individuals and of nations. The history, and, indeed, the condition of Great Britain, at the present moment, proves that even an advanced state of civilisation, and an ocular demonstration of their pernicious effects, are not effectual in restraining people from drinking to excess. What limitation in their use is, then, to be expected when they are introduced amongst a semi-barbarous people, destitute of all such means of knowing their baneful results, and regarding the wild and frantic feelings which they inspire as almost their heaven of enjoyment? It is, alas! to be feared, that, left to themselves, they would submit to be destroyed by them before they would grow wise enough to abstain from them. God forbid that Great Britain, while

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seeking the abolition of one evil, should be instrumental in the introduction of another, and that her commercial intercourse with Africa, to which many of the noblest and most philanthropic of her sons are looking to aid in uprooting the most wicked and deadly system which ever had an existence amongst men, should carry a curse to this unhappy land, which, though more insidious in its operation, may not prove less baneful in its ultimate effects!

But to return to the natives of Africa themselves. The testimonies in reference to the crime of drunkenness are express and numerous. Of the people of Barbarra and Kordofan it is said, they "cannot relinquish their favourite liquor; and as all who drink persist in drinking till they are completely inebriated, the natural violence of their temper is increased, and gives occasion to continual disputes, which frequently are not decided without blows, and occsionally terminate in bloodshed." The Furians are described by Browne as "excessively prone to inebriation. A company often sit from sunset to sunrise, drinking and conversing, till a single individual sometimes carries off two gallons of *booza*, the the liquor which they drink." The inhabitants of Nufi, in like manner, according to Captain Clapperton, have the reputation of being "great drunkards." The house in which he took up his abode in Kulfu, the capital of this country, was kept by a widow particularly famous for her *booza*, and here every night a large outer hut was filled with "topers," who kept it up generally till dawn with music and drink. Of Yariba, Clapperton declares that he was "never in a place where drunkenness was so general." Robertson,

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referring to the inhabitants of Benin, says, "In their revelry or dancing they introduce extreme buffoonery, and too frequently indecency. They are fond of strong liquors, and drink these, as well as the sap of the palm tree, and juice of the bamboo, which they call *sumbo*, until they are inebriated, in which state they are sometimes very outrageous." Lander, speaking of one of the chiefs of Badagry, says, "We presented him with brandy, equal in strength to spirits of wine, which he took and drank with the greatest avidity." Of the Timanees, we are assured by Major Laing, that at their customs "the prevailing feature is intoxication, by indulging in copious potations of palm wine. Indeed, to such an extent, on all occasions, do they carry this odious practice, that the strongest men soon manifest its relaxing effects, and many become afflicted at an early age with diseases produced by it."

To these testimonies may be added an extract from Bowdich's account of the horrid scenes connected with the annual customs of Ashanti. "The next morning," he says, "the king ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans in various parts of the town, the crowd pressing around, and drinking like hogs,—freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, trampling on each other under foot, pushed foremost into the pans, and spilling much more than they drank. In less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen. Parties of four, reeling under the weight of another whom they affected to be carrying home, strings of women covered with red paint, falling down like rows of cards, the commonest mechanics and slaves frivolously declaiming

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on state palavers, the most discordant music, obscene songs, children prostrate in insensibility. All wore their handsomest clothes, which they trailed after them to a great length, in a drunken emulation of extravagance and dirtiness."

Nor is it to be supposed that drunkenness in Africa is confined to any particular class of men or grade of society, or even to the male, in distinction from the female part of the community. The mohammedan, notwithstanding that his religion forbids the use of intoxicating drinks, is chargeable in this matter in numerous cases, in common with the pagan. We are assured by Clapperton, that in Nufi the liquor called "booza" is drunk both by moslem and pagan. Park informs us, that "among the Mandingoes there is a class of negroes who, while they adopt the ceremonial part of the mohammedan religion, retain their ancient superstitions, and even drink strong liquors. They are called Johars, or Jowars, and in some parts form a very numerous and powerful tribe." Princes, moreover, equally with their subjects, are addicted to drunkenness. Major Gray, describing a visit which he and his company received from one of the Foulah kings, says, "He was drunk, and extremely vociferous. He is intolerably fond of rum, and would be for ever drunk, if he could find the means of being so. His last demand (from the travellers) was for two bottles of rum, which I gave him. He left us in a state of excessive inebriety, as were most of his followers." Speaking in another place of the sovereign of Woolli, he says, "Immediately on our arrival, we sent to apprise the king, and requested to be informed at what hour he could receive

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our visit. We were, however, told that he was then drunk, and could not be seen on business." The same traveller mentions another African prince who came to see him, "bringing with him a large calabash of a sort of beer," and who continued talking and drinking, "till he was so satiated, that he could not rise from the ground without assistance." Women, still farther, as well as men, are addicted to this degrading vice. This is the case amongst the people of Nufi in particular, where, Captain Clapperton assures us, that the "women, dressed in all their finery, joined the men, danced, sang, and drank *booza* with the best of them."

Such, in Africa, is the fearful prevalence of a vice, not, indeed, peculiar to this unhappy country, but which, wherever it exists, proves a fruitful source of bodily disease, mental derangement, domestic feud, and almost every crime by which humanity is disgraced, or God dishonoured.

A brief reference to a few other prevailing vices in Africa shall conclude the present chapter. Among the Darfurians, according to Browne, "the vices of thieving, lying, and cheating in bargains, with all others, nearly or remotely allied to them, are almost universal. No property is safe out of the sight of the owner, nor, indeed, scarcely in it, unless stronger than the thief. In buying and selling, the parent glories in deceiving the son, and the son the parent; and God and the prophet are hourly invoked to give colour to the most palpable frauds and falsehoods." Clapperton remarks of the inhabitants of Nufi, that though civil, "the truth is not in them, and to be detected in a lie is not the smallest disgrace, it only causes a laugh." The Kru-

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men, valuable auxiliaries as they unquestionably are to Europeans trading on the coast, and possessing, as they do, many excellent qualities, are spoken of by Laird and Oldfield as having "the common failing of negroes, and being given to lying and pilfering." Of the Timanees, Major Laing gives a most humiliating account. "The character of a Timanee," he says, "is almost proverbial in Western Africa for knavery and indisposition to honest labour, and that of a Timanee woman for dishonesty. They are depraved, licentious, indolent, and avaricious." How much superiority, in these respects, may be claimed by the great empire of Ashanti, may be gathered from the following fact:—"The king," Bowdich declares, "has a troop of small boys, who carry fetish bows and arrows, and are licensed plunderers. They are so sly and nimble, that it is very diverting to watch them in the market-place, which they infest every morning. Whatever they can carry off is fair game, and cannot be recovered; but the loser, if he can catch them before they arrive at the palace, may beat them as severely as he pleases, short of mortal injury. However, they bear it as obdurately as young Spartans. Sometimes one party trips up a person with a load of provisions, while another scrambles them up." Where thieving is thus patronised by the crown, and youth are regularly trained up to plunder, it would be vain to look for honesty in the generality of the people. Hence Hutton, speaking of the natives of Ashanti, says, "They are the greatest thieves I ever met with. This is their general character; but I speak from experience. My own servants have frequently plundered me of my

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linen and other articles, and particularly of desert knives, which they make use of to shave their heads."

"As they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful." What an awful comment upon this affecting portion of Holy Writ are the humiliating facts which this and the preceding chapters record!

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CHAPTER III.

AGRICULTURE — MANUFACTURES — COMMERCE — HOUSES — FURNITURE — TOWNS — AFRICAN CHARACTER — MAGNANIMITY — FEMALE COMPASSION — PARENTAL AFFECTION — LOVE OF COUNTRY — LIVELINESS OF DISPOSITION, AND FONDNESS FOR DIVERSION — PASSION FOR POETRY — INTELLECTUAL ACQUIREMENTS — DEFICIENCY IN THE INVENTIVE FACULTY — POWERS OF IMITATION — DOCILITY — SUBMISSIVENESS — FUTURE DESTINIES.

A FEW particulars of a more miscellaneous character have yet to be noticed.

SECTION I.

1. AGRICULTURE forms the most important branch of industry in every society, and it may safely be affirmed that in no quarter of the world might it be turned to a more profitable account than in Africa. The capabilities of its soil are almost unlimited. Park gives it as his opinion—an opinion which every succeeding traveller has confirmed—that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalised, and brought to the utmost perfection in the tropical parts of this immense continent." These vast capabilities have never yet, except in a very small measure, been developed.

The principal grains cultivated by the natives, are

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rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn or millet, wheat and dhoura; the roots are manioc, yams, arrow-root, and ginger. Large plantations of cotton, indigo, and tobacco are met with in the interior districts.*

The soil is naturally so rich and prolific that it needs but little assistance from the hand of the cultivator. The natives plant their corn and rice on the same ground for fifty years successively, without carrying to it any manure.

In some districts, however, a singular practice is adopted for the improvement of the pasture lands. When the grass is sufficiently dry, it is set on fire. This annual burning is soon followed by a fresh and

* The following productions are enumerated by Sir Fowell Buxton.

Grain.—Rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn or millet, wheat, dhoura, &c.

Fruits.—Oranges, lemons, guavas, pines, citrons, limes, papaws, plantains, bananas, dates, &c.

Roots.—Manioc, igname, batalee, yams, arrow-root, ginger, sweet potato, &c.

Timber.—Teak, ebony, lignum vitæ, and forty or fifty other species of wood for all purposes.

Nuts.—Palm-nut, shea-nut, cocoa-nut, cola-nut, ground-nut, castor-nut, netta-nut, &c.

Dyes.—Carmine, yellow—various shades, blue, orange—various shades, red, crimson, brown, &c.

Dyewoods.—Camwood, barwood, &c.

Gums.—Copal, Senegal mastic, sudan, &c.

Drugs.—Aloes, cassia, senna, frankincense, &c.

Minerals.—Gold, iron, copper, emery, sal-ammoniac, nitre, &c.

Sugar-canes, coffee, cotton, indigo, tobacco, India rubber, bees' wax, ostrich feathers, and skins, ivory, &c.

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sweet verdure, and the country is rendered more healthful and pleasant.

The scene thus occasioned is described by Park as one of terrific grandeur. In the middle of the night you may see mountains and plains, as far as your eye will reach, variegated with lines of fire; the light reflected on the sky making the heavens to appear in a blaze. In the day-time, pillars of smoke may be seen in every direction, while the birds of prey are observed, hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles attempting to escape from the flames.

The process of agriculture is exceedingly simple. The application of animal labour is nowhere adopted, and the plough is wholly unknown. The chief implement used in husbandry is the hoe, which varies in form in different districts. It is mostly made of hard wood, but in some parts it is manufactured of iron. The corn is planted in trenches drawn in straight lines, parallel to each other. The ground being broken up with the hoe, the grain is dropped in with the hand, and covered over with the feet. "Frequently the toil is lightened from being performed by the whole village in common, when it appears less a scene of labour than a gay festival. The village musician plays the most lively airs; and a spectator at a little distance would suppose them to be dancing instead of working."

Vegetation proceeds with the utmost rapidity. The sowing season commences at the end of the periodical rains in April; after which, in a few days, the fields are covered with verdure. The harvest is generally commenced in July; but of course varies according to

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the nature of the grain, and in different parts of the continent.

When the corn is ripe, the women and slaves are employed to break off the ears with their fingers, which they accumulate in baskets, and carry away on their heads.

The threshing is usually performed by means of a hooked stick, like that used by boys in this country in the game of hockey; and is, as may be supposed, very awkwardly and incompletely done. The grain is afterwards exposed to the sun, till it becomes quite dry, when it is sometimes preserved in holes dug in the ground, which are lined and covered with chaff.

How extremely imperfect is African agriculture will manifestly appear from this brief notice. The extent of cultivation is proportionably limited. "No private property in land has yet been anywhere established. Every city or village is encircled by an extensive common, which, being marked by no individual appropriation, may be said to belong to the king or state, and of which a portion is granted to any one who will undertake the labour and expense of cultivation; while the remainder is pasture ground, on which all the inhabitants have the liberty of feeding their cattle, which must be watched by night as well as by day." To this it may be added, that the whole of the estimated value of African imports to this country in 1834, exclusive of gold dust, was £456,104. These chiefly consisted of palm oil, teak, timber, gums, ivory, and bees' wax; all extremely valuable and in great demand, but produced without cultivation, and procured at comparatively little labour and cost. What a deplorable view

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does this give of the agricultural condition of a country capable of raising almost every tropical production!

2. From the review which has already been taken of the social condition of Africa, the attempts of the people in manufactures will be expected to be of a very humble order; the country, however, is not without them.

The principal native manufacture is a coarse and narrow but durable cotton cloth; this is made in every African kingdom, and Park declares that every African slave can weave.

The art of dyeing these native cloths is known; red and blue are the principal colours, the brilliancy of the latter is greatly admired. In Ashanti they have, besides, a method of painting them, employing a fowl's feather for a brush. The patterns are various, and are said to be not inelegant. They are executed with so much regularity, as, at a distance, to have all the appearance of a cotton print. Bowdich affirms that he has seen a man paint as fast as he could write.

The manufacture of leather appears to be universal in Africa. Park describes a distinct class of men who make this their sole employment; "they are to be found," he says, "in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition, by steeping the hide, first in a mixture of wood ashes and water, until it parts with the hair, and afterward, by using the pounded leaves of a tree called *goo*, as an astringent. They are at great pains to render the hide as soft and pliant as possible, by rubbing it frequently between their hands, and beating it upon a stone. The hides of bullocks are converted

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chiefly into sandals, and, therefore, require less care in dressing than the skins of sheep and goats, which are used for covering saphies and quivers, and in making sheaths for swords and knives, belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. These skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour. In Kano, the natives manufacture leathern jars, fashioning them upon a clay mould, out of the raw hide previously well soaked. These jars serve to contain fat, melted butter, honey, and bees' wax.

A rude kind of earthenware is another article of African manufacture. The manner in which this is effected among the Fulahs is very simple. After having shaped their vessels, they place them one upon another in the middle of a field, covering the whole with straw, to which they set fire; and this gives them a sufficient degree of baking.

Of the pottery of Ashanti, Bowdich speaks very highly. The clay of which the native vessels are made he describes as being very fine. They are polished, after baking, by friction; and the grooves of the patterns are filled up with chalk. The Ashantis have also a black pottery which admits of a high polish.

Mats used for sitting and sleeping on are the staple manufacture in many parts of Western Africa. In Bambarra and Kaarta, as also in other districts, the natives make very beautiful baskets, hats, and other articles, both for use and ornament, from rushes which they stain of different colours; and they contrive to cover their calabashes with interwoven cane, dyed in the same manner.

The art of working metals is also known in Africa.

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Iron ore is found in many parts in great abundance; and, in the interior districts, the natives prosecute the whole process of smelting and manufacturing it into agricultural instruments, carpenter's tools, weapons, ornaments, and such other articles as they may desire. Africa is the land of gold. The precious metal is imbedded in its streams, deposited in its mountains, and, in some districts, the whole soil is said to be impregnated with it. Most of the African blacksmiths, therefore, are also acquainted with the method of smelting gold. They likewise draw the gold into wire, and form a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity. In Ashanti, the natives also possess the art of casting gold.

Besides these, the natives on the coast employ themselves in the manufacture of salt from sea-water, by boiling it down in large vessels employed for the purpose; and, in some of the interior districts, the art of making gunpowder is known.

3. The commerce of Africa is, at present, very limited. According to the Custom House return laid before the West African Committee, the whole of the declared value of British exports to Western Africa, in the year 1827, was only £107,603.; in 1834, it was £198,510.; in 1838, it was £240,059.; and in 1841, it was £230,579.; Small, however, as are these amounts, considering they exhibit British trade with a country, the natural resources of which are almost boundless, and although the return for 1841 is nearly £10,000. less than for 1838; yet, a comparison of that sum with the return for 1827, conducts us to the pleasing conclusion, that the legitimate commerce of Great Britain with Western

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Africa has more than doubled in extent. Included in the amount of British exports to West Africa in 1841, it is also gratifying to find the following items as indicative of some small advance in the path of civilisation—hats, £403.—soap and candles, £1873.—cabinet and upholstery wares, £1207.—stationery, £847.

The internal commerce of Africa is chiefly carried on by means of caravans, kafilas, or coffles. "These are formed by a union of travellers; an arrangement, necessary for mutual aid amid the difficulties and perils by which almost every tract is beset. The native traders do not employ camels, which have been introduced by a foreign race from Arabia into the northern deserts, for which they are perfectly adapted. The waggon, and indeed every species of draught is nearly unknown, and would be ill suited to the roads, the best of which are narrow paths cut through thick and entangled forests. In the hilly and central districts, either the backs of asses or the heads of slaves serve as the ordinary vehicle.

"The largest demand of the native trade originates in the great demand for salt in all the provinces south of the Great Desert. This commodity is chiefly brought from the coast, from large pits in the west, and also from the lakes or ponds in the country of Tibboo. In like manner, from the shores of the Atlantic, are transmitted cowries, the chief currency of the interior kingdoms; and goora-nuts, a favourite luxury, which, on account of the agreeable taste they impart to the water drunk after them, are called African coffee. The returns are made in gold, ivory, fine cloths, and, too often, in slaves."

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Limited, however, as is the commerce of Africa, love of trade is a distinguishing feature of African character. Mr. Laird, in a letter to Sir Fowell Buxton, quoted in his work, observes, "As to the character of the inhabitants, I can only state that, if there is one characteristic that distinguishes an African from other uncivilised people, it is his love of and eagerness for traffic; men, women, and children, trade in all directions. They have their regular market-places, where they bring the produce of their fields, their manufactures, their ivory, and every thing they can sell. At the ivory market I have seen upwards of one hundred large canoes, each holding from ten to forty men, all trading peaceably together. I was informed by the natives that it was considered neutral ground, and that the towns at war with one another attended the same market amicably."

An African market, indeed, presents one of the most animating and interesting scenes which the whole continent affords. "At the market in Kuka, at least 15,000 persons constantly assemble, some from places two or three days distant; whilst slaves, sheep and bullocks, wheat, rice, indigo, and leather, are extensively exchanged through the medium of amber, beads, and native cloth. At Angornu, the largest and most populous town in the empire, the market is attended, in peaceable times, by 80,000 or 100,000 people, and has quite the appearance of a bustling place of business." The ivory market referred to by Laird, is thus described by his companion, Oldfield:—"On landing on the sand-bank, a

* Denham, pp. 69, 80, 101.

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European is struck with the remarkable appearance and dresses of the various traders and their attendants, while, on each side he is welcomed with 'Senú Senú—Lori la fere' (Good morning—I hope you are well) from a hundred mouths. Mats are erected in various directions, the natives of each country selecting a piece of ground. These extend for a quarter of a mile, under which are exposed for sale, a variety of articles and provisions, whilst his ears are saluted with 'Gewa, gewa,' (a tooth, a tooth,) from fine well-formed slaves, who are carrying elephants' teeth on their heads, weighing from fifty to one hundred pounds. Under the mats and in the inclosures are to be seen *male and female slaves, from the age of five up to thirty;* 11,000 *of these poor creatures, at the lowest computation, are exposed for sale annually.* As the visitor proceeds he observes groups of merchants gossiping over their beer on bargains which they have made, or counting their bags of cowries, containing from 30,000 to 60,000. The various dresses of the natives are not the least striking; they show the custumes of the people in different towns between Ibú and Egga, and the altering shades of colour are very perceptible. The Ibú trader is easily distinguished by his half European dress; between Ibú and the Chadda, blue country-cloths are worn, and English cottons; tobes and turbans are worn by the respectable natives of Iddah."

This view of the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of Africa, affords matter for both painful and pleasing reflection. What must be the condition of a people dwelling in a country of almost boundless natural

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resources, who have laid so small a proportion of land under cultivation; made such little advances in the arts of life; and whose lawful trade with other nations is of so comparatively trifling a value? Were we utterly ignorant of all other facts, this alone would unfold sufficient of their state to convince us of their degradation, and to assure us of their claims upon our Christian compassion. How bitter, again, is the consideration that this unhappy people, instead of employing her children in unfolding the natural wealth of the great continent they inhabit, and making it available to their social comfort and advancement, should have been selling them into cruel captivity to far distant nations!

But, painful as are these reflections, there is another aspect of the subject of an opposite and a pleasing character. The vast capabilities of Africa are not always destined to lie hidden and unemployed. As that religion which expands the soul, and teaches its disciples to be "diligent in business," shall be diffused, the industry of the negro will be called into activity, and he will prove the bounteous liberality of the God of heaven in his providential arrangements, as well as in "the riches of his grace." In the love of trade, which already distinguishes the African, we have, doubtless, the incipient features of a state of things when the traffic in human flesh shall become extinct, and a peaceful commerce shall scatter its blessings over the whole of Africa's extended regions. And, in the infant manufactures of this continent, who does not see those elements of social improvement, which, brought into more vigorous operation, shall in some future day, exhibit

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the inhabitants of Africa among the nations of the earth, adorned and blessed with the ornaments and the luxuries of a refined and elevated condition of society?

4. The domestic accommodations of the African are mostly of a very humble kind. The native dwellings are variously constructed, according to the rank and country of the occupant. The castle, as it is called, and the royal residence in Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti, are built of stone. The residence of the king of Bondu, and of some other members of the royal family is, in appearance and in reality, a castle, being built with strong timbers, clay walls, and large pillars inside, with a flat roof. It has a parapet wall, on which are mounted three small pieces. The walls are from fifteen to sixteen feet high, are of an immense thickness, and have strong bastions. The palace of the sultan of Mobba is described as an "immense brick building."

In the larger kingdoms of Africa, and in the more central parts, the houses are built with greater care and in a better style than in the smaller states and on the coast. In Bornu, for example, the habitations are by no means contemptible, either for size or appearance. They have, commonly, an inner uncovered court. Four walls, enclosing a square, are erected; within these walls, and parallel to them, four other walls are also built; the ground between these walls is then divided into different apartments, and is covered with a roof: thus, the space between the interior walls determines the size of the court, and the space between the walls and their height determine the width and height of the rooms. In a large house, the rooms are each

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twenty feet in length, eleven in height, and as many in width. On the outside of the house is a second square or large yard, surrounded by a wall, which is provided for the enclosure and protection of the cattle. For the construction of the walls, the following method is pursued: a trench, for the foundation, being made, it is filled with dry and solid materials rammed in with force, levelled on these a layer of tempered mortar or mud is placed, and on this a suitable number of stones is regularly fixed; thus, with alternate layers of clay and stones, the wall proceeds, but, as soon as it has reached the height of six or seven feet, the workmen suspend its progress for a week, that it may have time to settle and become compact, for which purpose they water it every day. When the walls are finished, they are neatly plastered, within and without, with clay or mud tempered with sand. The roofs are formed of branches of the palm tree intermixed with brushwood, and are so constructed as, at first, to be water-proof; but such is the violence of the wind and rain, that the end of the second year is the ultimate period of their brief duration.

But, through by far the larger proportion of the continent, the very best habitations are of the rudest description. They are usually built in a conical form, like bee-hives; and consist of stakes of wood driven into the ground, which, being interwoven with branches, are afterwards plastered with earth. "In many of these mansions it is hardly possible to stand in an upright position, and, indeed, they are resorted to chiefly for sleep and shelter, while the court before the door,

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shaded by the family tree, is the scene of social intercourse, and of all meetings for the purposes of business and gaiety.

A number of these small huts, built in a court of an irregular shape, which, in some instances, is surrounded by a wall, usually constitutes the domestic establishment of an African in respectable circumstances. Of these, he assigns a separate dwelling to each of his wives, besides the one he appropriates to himself. Kings and great men commonly adopt a still further division for store-room, cooking, and other purposes.

The furniture of these establishments is equally simple with the structures themselves. In Bornu, where both the houses and furniture are much superior to those of other kingdoms, the catalogue is very small. Among the lower classes of the inhabitants, it consists of mats covered with a sheep's skin, upon which they sleep, an earthen pot, a pan of the same material, two or three wooden dishes, a couple of wooden bowls, an old carpet, a lamp for oil, and perhaps a copper kettle. Persons of superior rank are possessed of leathern cushions that are stuffed with wool, several brass and copper utensils, a handsome carpet, and a sort of candlesticks; for, instead of the vegetable oil which is used by the common people, they employ the light of candles, manufactured from their bees'-wax and the tallow of their sheep. In many countries, however, the comforts of an African family are far fewer and much less costly. The seat of a prince is not unfrequently a mound of earth, raised in some part of his hut, and covered with the rudely tanned skin of some

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beast of prey. On the coast, some of their chiefs have supplied themselves with a few articles of European furniture, and, in some cases, in the interior, a similar luxury may be found. Thus, during the stay of Captain Clapperton in the city of Sakatu, he was regularly furnished with provisions from the sultan's table on pewter dishes with the London stamp. One day he had a piece of meat served up to him in a white wash-hand-basin of English manufacture. The same observation applies to the great empires of Dahomy and Ashanti, owing to the intercourse which, of late in particular, has been cultivated with Europeans, and especially with Englishmen. But still the generality of the people, in all parts of the country, content themselves with a scanty supply of such few articles as are absolutely necessary to the every-day purposes of life.

5. An assemblage of such domestic establishments, thus thinly furnished, compose an African town, which often covers the space of a mile, or more, in circumference. The houses are not arranged in any regular form, and are frequently erected at a considerable distance from each other. The whole is mostly surrounded by a mud wall, or fence, of from ten to fifteen feet in height. In some cases, ditches are dug on the outside of the wall as a still further protection.

Most towns are supplied with a commodious state-room, called the palaver house, where public business is transacted; but the architecture, even of this, is but little superior to that of the private dwelling. "It consists, merely, of a large apartment raised on posts fixed in the ground, and roofed with sloping planks,

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which leave the interior open to the air on every side." It is generally shaded from the sun by being erected in the shade of some large tree.

"In regard to the town sin Central Africa, it is, in particular, to be remarked, that they are not alone assemblages of many houses within inclosures, but are inclosures of large tracts of cultivated country, within walls, from which the congregated inhabitants draw their subsistence; all the wild world around being shut out from them, or only traversed in trading visits to other similarly isolated communities. They are densely peopled *agricultural* as well as *commercial* spots, while all around is a wilderness of forests and fastnesses abandoned to wild beasts.

"This is a peculiarity in the social geography of Africa not to be overlooked. Vast as Africa is, it affords the greatest facility for the diffusion of knowledge and civilisation. A town is a little state, in which the tiller of the soil is mingled in town life with the trader and the artisan—a city is literally a *rus in urbe;* and a missionary, when he fixes his abode in one of these places, finds himself in the midst of a peopled enclosure on whose mass he can exert a rapid influence."*

SECTION II.

The darkest scenes have almost always some gleams of light, however faint, to relieve their gloom; and the worst forms of human nature have, in general, some

* Richard Hill, Esq., Jamaica.

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few features to modify and soften them. Deplorable as are the facts which preceding pages have exhibited, and notwithstanding the miserable state of African society at large, the negro character is not altogether without its redeeming qualities, and our scanty history of the children of Ethiopia, even on their native shores, and under the most infernal influences, records some instances of conduct which justly claim our admiration, and serve to inspire the most pleasing anticipations of what Africans will become under the transforming power of Christ's gospel.

1. Even among African despots, instances of magnanimity, little to be expected, are sometimes met with. The following one, related by Park, is an almost incredible illustration. "The king of Futa Torra, inflamed with a zeal for propagating his religion, had sent an embassy to Damel, king of the Jaloffs, with a message to the effect that, unless all his people would embrace the mohammedan religion, and evince their conversion by saying eleven public prayers, he, the king Futa Torra, would certainly take up arms against them. The ambassador was accompanied by two of the principal bushreens, who carried each a large knife fixed on the top of a long pole. As soon as he had procured admission into the presence of Damel, and announced the pleasure of his sovereign, he ordered the bushreens to present the emblems of his mission. The two knives were accordingly laid before Damel, and the ambassador explained himself as follows:—'With this knife,' said he, 'Abdulkader will condescend to shave the head of Damel, if Damel will embrace the mohammedan faith; and, with this other knife, Abdulkader will cut

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the throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace it.—Take your choice.' Damel coolly told the ambassador, that he had no choice to make—he neither chose to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut; and with this the ambassador was civilly dismissed. Abdulkader took his measures accordingly, and, with a powerful army, invaded Damel's country. The inhabitants of the towns and villages filled up their wells, destroyed their provisions, carried off their effects, and abandoned their dwellings as he approached. By this means he was led on from place to place, until he had advanced three days' journey into the country of the Jaloffs. He had, indeed, met with no opposition, but his army had suffered so much from the scarcity of water that several of the men had died by the way. This induced him to direct his march towards a watering place in the woods, where, his men having quenched their thirst, and being overcome with fatigue, lay down carelessly to sleep among the bushes. In this situation they were attacked by Damel before day-break, and completely routed. Many of them were trampled to death, as they lay asleep, by Jaloff horses; others were killed in attempting to make their escape; and a still greater number were taken prisoners. Among the latter was Abdulkader himself. This ambitious, or rather frantic, prince, who, but a month before, had sent the threatening message to Damel, was now himself led into his presence a miserable captive. The behaviour of Damel, on this occasion, is never mentioned by the singing men but in terms of the highest approbation, and it was indeed so extraordinary in an African prince, that the reader may find it difficult to give credit to the recital. When his

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royal prisoner was brought before him in irons, and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, instead of setting his foot upon his neck, and stabbing him with his spear, according to custom in such cases, addressed him as follows:—'Abdulkader, answer me this question. If the chance of war had placed me in your situation and you in mine, how would you have treated me?' 'I would have thrust my spear into your heart,' returned Abdulkader, with great firmness, 'and I know that a similar fate awaits me.' 'Not so,' said Damel, 'my spear is indeed red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and I could now give it a deeper stain by dipping it in your own; but this would not build up my towns, nor bring to life the thousands who fell in the woods. I will not, therefore, kill you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave, until I perceive that your presence in your own kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours; and then I will consider of the proper way of disposing of you.' Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave for three months, at the end of which period, Damel listened to the solicitations of the inhabitants of Futa Torra, and restored to them their king. Strange as this story may appear, I have no doubt of the truth of it. It was told me at Malacotta, by the negroes; it was afterwards related to me by the Europeans on the Gambia; by some of the French at Goree; and confirmed by nine slaves who were taken prisoners with Abdulkader, by the watering place in the woods, and carried in the same ship with me to the West Indies."

How beautiful! The fertile oases in the extensive deserts of this vast continent are not more refreshing

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to the eye of the traveller, than is such an instance of noble generosity, in the view of the lover of true greatness, after traversing the moral wilderness which the condition of unhappy Africa presents. Where could this pagan prince have learned a lesson so agreeably in harmony with the Christian precept, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you?" How delightful to find the hearts of the people so sensibly alive to goodness, and to hear the rude bard of Africa celebrating in his extemporaneous songs a deed so well deserving of their praise! What if this monarch and his people had sat at the feet of Jesus?—how might they have adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour, and exhibited a yet more glorious contrast to the blind fanaticism and persecuting zeal of mohammedan delusion!

2. We have seen how degraded is the condition, and how depraved the manners of woman in Africa. But amidst all the degradation and wickedness in which she exists, in which she so largely participates, and to which, it must be confessed, she so greatly contributes, some happy specimens of female character may yet be found; showing that woman is woman still even in Africa, and that, under a better influence, the African woman might become, what she was obviously designed to be—"a soother of man's cares, a softener of his griefs, and a partner of his joys." The following touching facts in illustration are related by the traveller last quoted, and occurred in his own personal history.

He was in a small village in the neighbourhood of Sego, the capital of Bambarra. "Here," he says, "I

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was regarded with astonishment and fear, and was obliged to sit all day without victuals in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of heavy rain; and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree, and resting among the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me that I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which, having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress, pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension, called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton; in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour with songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of

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it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally translated, were these: 'The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk; no wife to grind his corn. *Chorus*—Let us pity the white man, no mother has he, &c. &c.'"

These simple and extemporaneous effusions of female compassion and African poetry, have been thus transferred into English verse by a noble lady:—

"The loud wind roared, the rain fell fast,
The white man yielded to the blast;
He sat him down beneath our tree,
For weary, sad, and faint was he.
And ah! no wife or mother's care
For him the milk or corn prepare.

CHORUS.

"The white man shall our pity share;—
Alas, no wife or mother's care
For him the milk or corn prepare!

"The storm is o'er, the tempest past,
And mercy's voice has hushed the blast;
The wind is heard in whispers low;
The white man far away must go,
But ever in his breast will bear
Remembrance of the negro's care.

CHORUS.

"Go, white man, go, but with thee bear
The negro's wish, the negro's prayer,
Remembrance of the negro's care."

Duchess of Devonshire.

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How like the good Samaritan is the conduct of this negro woman! Why should not all the daughters of Africa be like this one, and every feature of their character harmonise with this in hers? Why should not the heart which could flow with compassion for "a stranger in distress," be filled with love to a compassionating Saviour? O that Mungo Park could have returned the kindness and hospitality of his generous hostess by pointing her to Him, the knowledge of whom would have transformed her not only into the likeness of the good Samaritan, but into the image of God; while that knowledge, diffused by her amongst her degraded sisters, might have been the means of raising them from their present semi-barbarous condition to the rank and privilege of Christian women!

3. The following is another illustration of African character, also extracted from the travels of Mungo Park. We have shuddered at the revolting spectacle of a mother selling her only daughter into slavery, to an utter stranger, for a string of beads. We have here in happy contrast, a delightful instance of maternal affection, in an aged woman greeting the return of an absent son.

The traveller pursued his journeyings for some time, in company with a negro named Tami, a blacksmith and a native of Kasson, who was going back to his own country with the savings of his labours. After passing a large town called Madina, Park says, "we came in sight of the blacksmith's native town, from whence he had been absent more than four years. Soon after this, his brother, who had been by some means apprised of his coming, came out to meet him,

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accompanied by a singing man. He brought a horse for the blacksmith, that he might enter his native town in a dignified manner; and he desired each of us to put a good charge of powder into our guns. The singing man now led the way, followed by the two brothers; and we were presently joined by a number of people from the town, all of whom demonstrated great joy at seeing their old acquaintance, the blacksmith, by the most extravagant jumping and singing. On entering the town, the singing man began an extempore song in praise of the blacksmith, extolling his courage in having overcome so many difficulties, and concluding with a strict injunction to his friends to dress him plenty of victuals.

"When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted, and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, free from restraint, display their emotion in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amidst these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her, and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, arms, and face with great care; and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview I was fully convinced that, whatever difference there is between the negro and European in the conformation of the nose and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine, characteristic feelings of our common nature."

A similar instance of parental tenderness was related

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to the writer by the Rev. John Clarke, from Fernando Po. On board the vessel in which he and Dr. Prince sailed to Africa, was a Kruman, who had made a voyage to this country in the capacity of a sailor. He had been absent several months from his home. On reaching that part of the coast in the neighbourhood of which was his native town, he found his aged father waiting to receive him. On meeting, the father fell upon the neck of his son, indicating, by every possible expression of tenderness, the joy he felt in receiving him safe and sound.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The brutalising theory that would rob the negro of his title to humanity is now exploded from all civilised society. It would be an insult to the more enlightened age in which we live, to attempt in this particular a vindication of the negro's rights. Should, there, however, be one cold-hearted caviller upon this subject remaining, let such facts as these make him blush for shame.

4. Love of country is a prominent feature of African character. Unlike the roving Indian or the wandering Arab, the negro seeks to enjoy some settled place of abode, and forms the strongest attachment to the spot which gives him birth. Insomuch is this the case, that when compelled to take refuge in flight during those exterminating wars which are of such frequent occurrence in Africa, no sooner is the desolated country deserted by the enemy, than such of the inhabitants as have had the good fortune to escape both the *sword* and the *chain*, generally return, though with cautious steps, to the place of their nativity. Hence Mungo

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Park, remarking how generally mankind wish to spend the evening of their days where they have passed their infancy, adds, "The poor negro feels this desire in its full force. To him no water is sweet, but that which is drawn from his own well; and no tree has so cool and pleasant a shade as the tabba tree of his own native village. When war compels him to abandon the delightful spot in which he first drew his breath, and seek for security in some other kingdom, his time is spent in talking about the country of his ancestors; and no sooner is peace restored, than he turns his back upon the land of strangers, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village."

This is a characteristic of no little moment, in relation to African civilisation. The wandering habits of the Indian and other roving tribes have ever proved the most formidable obstacle to their social advancement, and the greatest barrier to all efforts for their improvement. But, with regard to the negro, this difficulty, at least, has no existence, and, in his attachment to a fixed place of abode, one of the first elements of civilisation is found.

5. The negro is everywhere distinguished for liveliness of disposition, and fondness for diversion and show.

What could more forcibly bespeak the sprightliness and vivacity of a people than the multitudes of singing men who swarm in all parts of this continent? The love of diversion is abundantly manifest from the many hours which the African devotes to it. At the close of the day, and often from sunset to sunrise, he gives

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himself wholly to amusement. Dancing is the favourite exercise, in which men and women promiscuously, or the women alone, in the presence of the men, engage. In these festivities loose is given to the passions, and the utmost licentiousness is often attendant upon them. Music is generally associated with dancing; and the drum, the horn, and the flute, a few rudely constructed stringed instruments, and clapping of hands, besides the human voice, in the songs of the singing men, all contribute to the hilarity of the scene.

Of the African's inherent fondness for show and parade, no one who has read Freeman's Missionary Journal of his visit to the capital of Ashanti, can have any question. A procession of 40,000 persons, and which occupied one hour and a half in passing, —numerous large umbrellas, of various colours—massive golden ornaments, some of them too heavy to be borne by the wearer without support—silver plate, golden cords, and canes and stools, almost covered with gold and silver, and even tobacco pipes richly decorated with the same precious materials—and all this to honour the reception of an humble missionary from Great Britain—what could more plainly discover a natural love of ostentatious display?

The same disposition is evident among the negroes of the West Indies, though now, in most cases, happily softened and subdued by the influence of religion. Liveliness of temper is not more apparent in the African on his native soil than in the islands of the Carribean sea. Here it appears in all the grace and loveliness which Christianity imparts to the natural developements of the human mind. It manifests itself, especially, in

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the passion for music and psalmody which prevails throughout the negro population of Jamaica; in their public addresses, which are full of imagination and of fire; and in the gems of sparkling wit, which, though expressed in broken English, not unfrequently escape their lips. Look, moreover, at the glorious structures which they raise for the worship of Almighty God—not only magnificent for size, but also beautiful for taste and ornament. True it is that Europeans design them, but, surely, if there were not in the people an inherent fondness for the grand and imposing, they would not be found so cheerfully willing to furnish the means of their erection.

6. A passion for poetry is strong and universal in Africa. "As soon as the evening breeze begins to blow, the song resounds through all Africa—it cheers the despondency of the wanderer through the desert—it enlivens the social meeting—it inspires the dance—and even the lamentations of the mourner are poured forth in measured accents. Their poetry does not consist in studied and regular pieces, such as, after previous study, are recited in our schools and theatres; they are extemporary and spontaneous effusions, in which the speaker gives utterance to his hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows. All the sovereigns are attended by crowds of singing men and singing women, who, when any interesting event occurs, celebrate it in songs which they repeat aloud in public." They are held in great repute by the people, and are, says Park, "in a great measure exempt from that neglect and indigence which, in more polished countries, commonly attend the votaries of the the Muses."

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Many of the extemporaneous effusions of the African are not wanting in the true inspiration of poetry. "How small a number among our peasantry," it has been justly remarked, "could have produced the pathetic and affecting lamentation which was uttered in the little Bambarra cottage over the distresses of Park!" It is matter of regret that so few specimens have been collected. But those which we have, certainly contribute to give us no mean opinion of the negro muse. The following example, which the writer owes to the kindness of the Rev. John Clarke, baptist missionary to Africa, and which was taken, through an interpreter, from the lips of one of the natives of Fernando Po, is a happy illustration of the poetic genius of Nigritia. It is a war song. Two parts of an army under review, stand each on an opposite hill. The "singing man" of one presents himself within hearing of the other, and chaunts the following lines, repeating each stanza from two to five times:—

"We are beautiful, like the red-spotted snake,
We dress so fine that others envy us;
We are strong, like a river rushing to the sea.
People covet our country.
War is to us sweet—we are ready for war;
We have many great men in our country;
We are strong, and can have our desire;
We stand erect, like the palm tree.
All the people around are afraid of our might.
Our children are born for war.
The nation who wishes to quarrel with us we will follow
to the fight.
When they come against us, we will drive them to the bush.
We are strong—they will flee before us.

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PAUSE.

We once killed others, but have hurt no one of late.
If any wish to hurt us, they had better ask us not to hurt them.
We can part those who are engaged in war.
War has killed many—war is bad."

The two following specimens are from the journals of Messrs. Denham and Clapperton. The travellers were accompanying a military expedition from Kuka to Murmur, which, as usual, was attended by its singing men; two of these during one part of the journey, were heard chaunting the praises of their master in a "ditty," which is thus translated:—

Give flesh to the hyenas at day-break.
    Oh, the broad spears!
The spear of the sultan is the broadest.
    Oh, the broad spears!
I behold thee now—I desire to see none other.
    Oh, the broad spears!
My horse is as tall as a high wall.
    Oh, the broad spears!
He will fight against ten—he fears nothing.
    Oh, the broad spears!
He has slain ten—the guns are yet behind.
    Oh, the broad spears!
The elephant of the forest brings me what I want.
    Oh, the broad spears!
Like unto thee, so is the sultan.
    Oh, the broad spears!
Be brave, be brave, O my friends and kinsmen!
    Oh, the broad spears!
God is great—I wax fierce as a beast of prey.
    Oh, the broad spears!
God is great—to-day those I wished for are come.

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The other lines were sung by a band of African bards in praise of Major Denham, on his joining another expedition to Mandara. They are thus translated:—

Christian man he come,
  Friend of us and Sheikobe;
White man, when he hear my song,
  Fine new tobe give me.

Christian man, all white,
  And dollars white have he;
Kanourie like him come,
  Black man's friend to be.

See Felata—how he run!
  Barca Gana shake his spear;
White man carry two-mouthed gun,
  That's what make Felata fear.

7. The intellectual acquirements of the natives of Africa are very limited. With the exception of the Hausa, the Mandingo, the Bornuese, and a few others, a written native language does not exist. Oral communication forms the only channel by which thought is transmitted from one country, and from one age to another. The lessons of time, the experience of ages, do not exist for the nations of this vast continent.

Enough, however, has been stated, to show that, notwithstanding this deficiency, the African is not sunk in entire mental apathy. Of this the public *palavers* afford still further testimony. These are commonly conducted with a fluent and natural oratory, accompanied often with much good sense and shrewdness. In the *palavers* of the Sulimas, according to Major Laing, "an orator may harangue an assembly from sunrise to sunset, without the smallest opposition from those who differ

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from him in opinion, and his antagonist will, from memory, reply to every part of his speech the next day, as regularly as if he had kept notes." Park relates a case in which an African advocate, as he says, had an admirable opportunity of displaying his professional dexterity. "An ass belonging to a Serawooli negro, had broken into a field of corn belonging to one of the Mandingo inhabitants, and had destroyed great part of it. The Mandingo having caught the animal in his field, immediately drew his knife and cut its throat. The Serawooli thereupon called a *palaver*, (or, in European terms, brought an action,) to recover damages for the loss of the beast, on which he set a high value. The defendant confessed he had killed the ass, but pleaded a *set-off*, insisting that the loss he had sustained by the ravage in his corn, was equal to the sum demanded for the animal. To ascertain this fact, was the point at issue, and the learned advocates contrived to puzzle the cause in such a manner, that after a hearing of three days, the court broke up without coming to any determination."

8. Much has been said of the negroes' deficiency in the inventive faculty. The brief account, however, which has been given of African manufactures, will go far to vindicate him from this reproach. The only foundation, indeed, for the charge, may be the fact of his having had so few opportunities for the developement of these characteristics. A visit to Jamaica in the present improved condition of its people, would most likely conduct us to a very different conclusion.

But be this as it may, certain are we, that for the powers of imitation, and for aptitude in the acquisition

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of knowledge, the negro will bear a comparison with Europeans of any age or country. It is indeed true, that in the days of slavery, the children of Ethiopia were reckoned by the planter among the most dull and stupid of mankind. But what room for mental developement and growth did slavery afford? what incentive to learn had the hopeless captive, when a cruel task-master was to reap the fruit of all his toil? and yet, wonderful to say, the negro slave, amid these depressing circumstances did advance. Slaves in Africa, as we have seen, are not only the agricultural labourers; but, rude as may be their workmanship, are the weavers, the builders, and the smiths; while in Jamaica, "most of the houses and public buildings, churches, chapels, court-houses, were built chiefly by slaves; and to slaves, equally with the free blacks and people of colour, have the white inhabitants been indebted, not only for their common works of art, but for nearly every article of local manufacture." Give them no credit for originality in this; but still the imitative faculty must be acknowledged to be strong; and the case is plain, that the African needs only to be brought into contact with European civilisation, under the direction of Christianity, to attain an equal standing with the European in the scale of social existence.

In the ready acquirement of general knowledge, the negro child is not to be surpassed. Of this, the mission schools on the coast of Africa, afford ample evidence. In the short space of ten months, several Timanee children have learnt to write and read fluently, not one of whom had previously seen a book. Nor is this a solitary case. It may be safely affirmed, that there is not a single efficiently conducted mission school on the

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whole of the western continent, which does not furnish similar instances; nor is this aptness to learn confined to the more elementary branches of knowledge. Some of the schools in Jamaica give instruction in Roman and Grecian as well as in English history, in the sciences of geography and astronomy as well as in arithmetic, and also in natural philosophy. In these studies the children make the most astonishing proficiency, while in some they manifest the utmost enthusiasm. But it is needless to multiply proofs of the negro's facility in the attainment of knowledge. The day is evidently not far distant, when the West Indian negro will vie with the most accomplished scholars of Europe, and contest with them the honours of literary fame. The same elements of mind exist on the shores of his fatherland; and, brought under the same ennobling influence, shall in future generations afford similar developements.

9. But there are other qualities in the African which constitute his chief distinction; in these he appears to almost incomparable advantage. "The European is vehement, energetic, proud, tenacious, and revengeful; the African is docile, gentle, humble, grateful, and commonly forgiving. The one is ambitious and easily aroused; the other meek, easily contented, and easily subdued."

How abundantly are these views corroborated by the history of our West Indian Islands! What people ever received greater provocations? Treated like beasts of burden—sold with the chattels of their master's dwelling—goaded by the knotty whip to their daily task—their chastity violated, and all the tenderest feelings of humanity outraged and scorned—reviled and persecuted

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for their religious professions and convictions;—what other people, considering their greatly preponderating numbers, would not at least have discovered a revengeful spirit, and cherished an unextinguishable hatred to their oppressors? But, thanks to the holy influence of of the gospel, acting on the mild and gentle disposition of the African, the very opposite to this has been the case. Even in the time of slavery, their prayers ascended to heaven for their masters, and the smallest favour, even from those who were robbing them of the common and inalienable rights of men, was received with a grateful heart. On the day of their emancipation, all was thankfulness and peace; and many, instead of revenging themselves of former injuries, "presented their first week of free labour as an offering of good will to their employers." More than all, at the throne of grace, continuing to breathe the spirit of their dying Lord, in assembled thousands they unitedly implored the choicest blessings upon those who had once ill-used and trampled on them.

10. Such are some of the characteristic features of the African. How important is the influence which such a race is likely to exert on the future destinies of the world! They have hitherto lived isolated and apart; regarded by the proud and overbearing European as hardly human, every indication of social advancement has been, till within the last half century, repressed, instead of encouraged. But a brighter day is dawning upon Africa. She has yet to perform her part in the great drama of mankind's existence. On a subject so interesting we may be permitted to indulge a few reflections.

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The past history of the world has presented human nature to view under various aspects, according to the differing circumstances in which it has been placed. Thus to exhibit it appears to have been the plan of Divine providence. A succession of ages has been developing what man in his fallen condition is.

In those nations which flourished soon after the earth had recovered from the desolations of the deluge, it was manifest what man is, unaided by Divine teaching, with ordinary intellectual endowments. Vast empires, magnificent cities and structures, that raised their heads to heaven—these were their glory. In religion, except in one inconsiderable family—the family of Abraham, all was darkness. The knowledge of the true God was lost; paganism universally prevailed.

In process of time, human nature appeared in other circumstances. The thickest of the night was past. The world seemed to have some presentiment of approaching dawn. Man was seen distinguished with the highest natural endowments, but still alone and unaided by Divine tuition. A race of philosophers arose. They were giants in intellect, and employed it to its utmost stretch; they sought for truth, but found it not; with all their wisdom, they knew not God. Their history has shown what man is, possessed of the loftiest intellectual powers, but without the light of heaven.

Another era arrived. The fulness of the time had come for the gospel dispensation. The everlasting WORD was made flesh, and became the light of the world. Humanity would henceforth be viewed in a new position, blessed with a clear and full revelation of

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the Divine mind. But the end is not yet. Christianity is destined to ascendancy. But hitherto it has been so only in individual cases, or in small sections,—not in great communities. Its supremacy over human nature has never yet been seen on anything like an universal scale. It has existed only in juxta-position with other powerful influences which it has had perpetually to combat. Nations have been divided within themselves in reference to its claims, and even families have been opposed to each other in regard to them. So it is to the present hour. Here, then, we behold man as he is under the partial ascendancy of Divine truth.

But Christianity hastens on to universal triumph. Christ must reign; the hour will come when all will bow to his sceptre. Another era, therefore, remains for the world. Man is yet to be seen as he will appear when the truth as it is in Jesus shall have an undisputed sway over his whole race.

Now, it will be observed that in all past exhibitions of human nature, only two of the most considerable races of mankind have been particularly prominent—the Asiatic and the European, the children of Shem and the descendants of Japheth. Another race—the African, the descendants of Ham, almost as numerous, and peopling a vast continent, have scarcely appeared on the theatre of the world. They have lived almost in exclusion from the rest of their species, down-trodden and barbarous. But shall the day of the hitherto miserable African never come? It is already approaching. Though the negro has been depressed, his being has been preserved; and while other races have become

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almost extinct, the African is as numerous and prolific now, as at any period of the world. All events conspire to indicate that God is about to raise this people from the dust of their humiliation. And what may be their destiny? Coming on the stage of civilised life in these latter days, who can pronounce how important the part they may have to perform? Asia and Europe have shown what man is under circumstances of great diversity; but he is yet to be seen under the complete and universal ascendancy of the gospel. Who can say, that it may not be reserved to the poor and despised African thus to exhibit him? Receiving Christianity from our hands, he may, in future generations, reflect it to our view gloriously ascendant over whole tribes and nations. Europeans and Asiatics may hence learn a lesson which they have yet to acquire, and the period may speedily follow, when "what is now the exception shall become the rule; when peace, gentleness, and goodwill shall be virtues of general diffusion; when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; when they shall not hurt nor destroy throughout the earth; when they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid."

But, alas for the present condition of Africa! we must leave these bright anticipations, and return, in several succeeding chapters, to scenes of darkness and of death.

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CHAPTER IV.

INFLUENCE OF RELIGION—STATE OF AFRICA SEEN IN ITS RELIGION—MOHAMMEDANISM — EXTENT — TEACHERS — NUMBERS — REPUTATION — OCCUPATIONS — IGNORANCE—RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM IN AFRICA — SPREAD — MEANS OF DIFFUSION — SCHOOLS—CHARACTER OF MOHAMMEDANISM—FORM WITHOUT SPIRIT—ASSOCIATED WITH PAGANISM—INTOLERANT—INFLUENCE.

THE statements made, especially in the two first of the preceding chapters, respecting the social and moral condition of Africa, present a picture of degradation most afflicting to behold; and appeal most powerfully to the church of Christ, to furnish, in sending the gospel of salvation, the only effectual antidote to crimes so black and misery so abject. But half the tale has not been told.

Of all the influences to which the human mind is subject, religion is unquestionably the most powerful. Where it has the ascendancy, it lays hold of the strongest passions of the heart; and operating by motives drawn from the invisible world, brings the whole soul into subjection, and rules and governs with a potency to which nothing else can lay claim. Its influence, moreover, is all-pervading. It not only forms the outward habits, but, enthroned in the affections, moulds the heart, and directs many of the most

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hidden and secret workings of the mind. Hence religion stamps the character of individuals, and gives a tone to society in no small degree in accordance with itself.

This may be affirmed not simply of that religion which is founded in Divine truth, but also of those false and fatal systems which, from generation to generation, have enslaved the world. This is true of religion, as it prevails in Africa. The condition of its teeming millions is but a reflection of their religious systems, and these a mirror in which their degraded condition may be seen. To know, therefore, the real state of this unhappy people, their religion, with all its superstitious absurdities, demoralising practices, and revolting cruelties, must be attentively studied.

To the patient investigation of this subject the reader is now earnestly invited.

The immense continent of Africa is divided between pagans and mohammedans. To the religious system of the latter—not abstractedly considered, but as it prevails in this part of the world—the present chapter will be devoted.

1. The extent to which islamism is embraced in Africa is already very considerable. The majority of the inhabitants are indeed still "pagans of the most degraded and debased class;" but the religion of the false prophet has spread, in a greater or less degree, from one extremity of the continent to the other. In the principal states of Northern Central Africa, it may be regarded as fairly established, to the almost total exclusion of every other faith. In other parts of the country, between these and the coast, numerous

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mohammedan governments are to be found, but existing in the midst of pagan kingdoms, and frequently comprehending a large number of pagans amongst their own subjects. In the remaining portions of Africa, paganism is decidedly ascendant, tolerating those who, departing from the customs of their fathers, have become moslems.

The character of mohammedanism, from the very onset of its career, has been modified by circumstances. Mild in its bearing as long as it has existed by toleration, and destitute of secular power; but most arrogant in its assumptions, bitter in its spirit, and relentless in its cruelties, towards all who have dared to resist its sway, the moment it has obtained the ascendancy. The distribution of its influence, therefore, which has been noticed, it will be needful ever to keep in mind, in contemplating this false system, as it prevails in Africa.

2. The means by which it is diffused, and the teachers by whom it is supported and propagated, deserve especial notice.

Mohammedan teachers, like mohammedanism itself, are scattered over nearly the whole of the African continent. A very considerable number come out of the country of the Mandingoes, and, itinerating from one kingdom to another, at length return to the place of their nativity; others are more settled in their habits, and take up a permanent abode amongst the people to whom they minister.

Mohammedan teachers are held in the highest estimation. Among the Fy and Dey tribes, every village contains a lodge for their reception; and they are

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everywhere treated with the most profound deference and respect. In Darfur, the priest is called *fagui*, or learned man, and holds the highest rank after those who fill the offices of government. Among the Mandingoes, he ranks still higher, and is held in estimation next to the king or ruler of a country,—the subordinate chiefs and headmen being regarded as his inferiors in point of dignity. So sacred are the persons of these teachers esteemed, that they pass, without molestation, through the countries of princes not only hostile to each other, but engaged in actual warfare. They, in general, find very ample means of support. They are chiefly occupied in teaching the reading of the Koran, expounding its doctrines, and initiating the uninformed into the practice of the varied rites which it enjoins. Where the Koran is made the rule of government in matters of civil polity, the priest is in constant requisition, in order to interpret its meaning.

Mohammedan teachers are the schoolmasters of Africa, and furnish all the education which negro children receive. Many of them sustain the office singing men, and are employed on all festive occasions, to divert the guests, and flatter the host with their extemporaneous songs. In this capacity, they find favour in the presence of kings, like the minstrels of former times in our native land, celebrating the personal excellencies of the sovereign, and sounding forth his deeds of glory. In this same office, also, they frequently accompany African armies to the field of battle, reciting the history, and proclaiming the honours of the country, in order to inspire the troops with courage and the hope of victory.

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The sale of greegrees or charms, which either do, or profess to contain select sentences from the Koran, are to them a fruitful source of gain. In many cases, they associate with this traffic the practice of medicine; but with what pretensions will be seen from the following extract from the pages of Major Denham.

"The tamarind and trona (carbonate of soda) are their chief medicines, and excellent ones they are. Writers of charms are more frequently applied to. They possess nostrums which not only heal wounds, bestow eloquence and the gift of persuasion; but which calm all agitation and distress of mind. A *fighi*, or writer, with a ready wit and imposing manner, is at no loss for employment; and his medicine-chest consists of a few herbs, a gourd or calabash for an ink-bottle, and a reed for a pen. The nausea of pills and potions is not endured. Advice is cheap, and the remedy is usually applied outside, instead of finding its way into the stomach of the patient; no harm, therefore, can arise from the prescriprion. The imagination is worked upon, which more than half performs the cure; and their extreme temperance and faith complete the restoration of the patient."

Mohammedan teachers are sometimes retained by opulent individuals, for many years, as their priests and religious instructors. All these occupations tend to give them a vast amount of influence, which, both from the manner in which it is acquired, and the purpose to which it is devoted, make them agents of perpetual mischief to the best interests of the people, and the greatest obstacles to the introduction of Jehovah's most transcendant gift—the gospel of his grace.

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Notwithstanding the ostentation of learning which these ministers of the false prophet assume, they are, in numerous instances, profoundly ignorant,—unable, in many cases, to read even the very book from which they profess to teach. The following extract from "Sketches of a Missionary's Travels," by the Rev. Maxwell Macbriar, Wesleyan missionary, may be taken as an interesting illustration:—

"I sat down upon an excrescence of the stump of the tree; John Cupidon and our lad stood beside me, and the natives formed in a circle round, leaning upon their spears. John Cupidon told them that I was an English *fodery* (a learned priest, or one who understands the Koran) who had come to speak with them about religion; upon which I produced a copy of the law, and offered to read it in their hearing. A maraboo in reply, said, they were mussulmen, who only used the Koran. I told them that the Koran declared the truth of the law and the gospel, so that every good moslem should read these books; and then endeavoured to point out the blessedness of the Christian religion. The maraboos speedily took refuge in predestination, allowing the superiority of our truths to those which they believed, but maintaining the necessity of walking in the old path in which they had been born and educated. To such reasonings I replied, by showing the utility of not judging too hastily, but of first acquainting ourselves with both sides of a question, that so we might be able to choose the better way. One of them now began a flighty description of the glory of Mahomet, which we allowed him to pursue unmolested, till he had clearly committed himself, by affirming that the world was

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made for Mahomet. 'Hold there!' said I, 'where did you learn that? I am sure it is not in the law or the gospel; for I have read them quite through, and can see nothing of that kind in their contents.' 'No,' said he, falling into the trap which I had laid for him, 'it is not in the law or gospel, but it is to be found in the Koran.' I affirmed that I had never seen such a thing even in the Koran, and challenged him to the proof, asking if they had a copy of it at hand. The people round us were now looking on with considerable interest, when one of the maraboos brought forward a mutilated volume, and turned over its leaves, as if looking for a passage wherewith to substantiate their dogma. Having pretended to find it, he pointed to a certain page, and read something aloud; during which his fellows showed all the hopes of a triumph in their looks and gestures. I told him that he could not read his own book properly; and having read the passage myself, asked him the meaning thereof. He replied, 'that it was to this effect that God made the world for Mahomet!' 'Tell him he is a liar, for there is not one word of such a thing in the book,' said I to Cupidon; and he did so with a smile I shall not easily forget. They then requested me to translate the passage, which contained something about God rewarding the righteous, and punishing the wicked.' When this was done, I turned to the people, saying 'See what a set of cheats and liars your maraboos are!' They looked unutterable things, and the man seemed quite confounded. But he again plucked up courage, and made another bold assertion to support his sinking cause; for the truth of which also he referred to the Koran. After exposing this second

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cheat, I told him that his copy of the Koran was also false and interpolated; for that it commenced with, 'In the name of God and our Lord Mahomet,' which was contrary to the true reading, which I then quoted. The maraboos were thus completely mortified, and forthwith retired with their more zealous disciples, saying that 'it was unlawful for them to converse with a Christian priest;' at which we laughed and declared we had gained the victory."

The character of many of these mohammedan teachers for ignorance and imposture, may be further gathered from the following passage, from the "African Memoranda" of Captain Beaver. Speaking of the sale of charms, he says—

"This gris-gris trade is so lucrative, that it will not be wondered at, if some impostors—if indeed all may not be considered such—are found carrying it on; that is, men who though they can speak, yet cannot write Arabic, and are therefore incapable of giving to their gris-gris that form in which alone consists their virtue, that is, the form of some sentence from the Koran. That this is the case, I have no doubt, for I have now in my possession, half a dozen gris-gris, purchased of a Mandingo priest, which are not written in any language whatever; the papers are indeed covered all over with odd scrolls and figures, but there is not an Arabic word, nor even letter upon them."

Such are the mohammedan teachers of Africa; and these are the principal agents in propagating amongst the inhabitants of this vast continent, the tenets of the false apostle.

3. The time and circumstances under which moham-

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medanism was originally introduced to Western and Central Africa, are involved in considerable obscurity. According to Leo, islamism was introduced into Western Africa by the inhabitants of Morocco, who first subdued the natives by their arms, and then imposed upon them their own faith. This must have been during the eleventh century; for the religion of the Koran is stated to have been introduced into the country of Bambuk, by a MANDINGO warrior, about the year 1100.

The continued spread of mohammedanism is a matter of unquestionable fact. "Among the nations on the Gambia," Park declares, that "the mohammedan religion has made, and continues to make considerable progress." Speaking of the inhabitants of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Galam, Major Gray says, "These people, from a state of paganism, are progressively embracing the mohammedan faith. . . . . Some towns are wholly inhabited by priests, who are by far the most wealthy and respectable members of the community." The testimony of M. Mollien is precisely similar, respecting the kingdom of Cayor. "Mohammedanism," he says, "is making daily progress, and will soon become the only religion of the country of Cayor. The court alone remains attached to a paganism more favourable to the passions."

4. The considerations which operate, and the agencies employed in the diffusion of the false faith, are of the most potent kind. The trading Moors are mohammedans, and their influence is constantly exercised in the propagation of their religious creed. The principal native mohammedans are engaged in traffic, and in this

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pursuit travel from one country to another for thousands of miles. By these, again, islamism is spread.

Another circumstance which greatly contributes to the extension of the mohammedan religion, is the protection which it receives. Major Gray, speaking of the Mandingoes, and of their profession of mohammedanism, says, "I believe the greater proportion of them do so, not from any religious motive, but in order to ensure themselves that protection which the followers of Mahomet invariably meet with wherever they go, in their trading excursions."

Mohammedanism, still farther, owes its diffusion, in no small degree, to the secular influence of the maraboos, or priests. These first establishing themselves as religious teachers, zealously employ themselves in making converts. At length, perhaps, the king or the chief minister becomes a mussulman, while the infidels and the moslems still continue to live peaceably together; till some sheikh, or maraboo, availing himself of his spiritual authority, for purposes of ambition, proclaims himself the head and leader of his nation, and obtains an easy conquest over the feeble barbarous despotisms or petty states of the negro countries. An instance of this kind is recorded by Major Gray. Speaking of the subjugation of the Jalonkeas by the Fulahs, under the direction of a family from Massina, consisting of the father, two sons, and a few followers, he says,—"One of the sons was a mohammedan priest, and gradually gained such influence among the Jalonkeas, that he converted many of them to his own faith, and by means of his wealth, of which he is said to have possessed much,

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strongly attached them to his interest. A few years enabled them to make so many converts to their religion, and their riches procured them so much favour, that they planned and carried into execution the subjugation of the Jallonkeas, at least such as would not embrace the mohammedan faith."

Thus, though it be "a vulgar error" to suppose that "mohammedanism has propagated itself only by means of the sword," it is evident that coercive means are sometimes employed for its extension. Park relates an instance in which the king of Foota Torra sent an embassy to Teessa, in the kingdom of Kasson, announcing that, unless all the people of Kasson would embrace the mohammedan religion, and evince their conversion by saying eleven public prayers, he, the king of Foota Torra, could not possibly stand neuter in a contest about to take place between them and the king of Kajunga, but would certainly join his arms to those of their foe.

The rapid spread of mohammedanism in Africa, however, is unquestionably to be traced to the employment of pacific, rather than violent measures. By the latter, its opposers have indeed been exterminated, but by the former chiefly, have its converts been made. Several of these peaceful means have already been mentioned. The most powerful agency remains to be noticed. Islamism is propagated in Africa principally by the establishment of schools. These are conducted by mohammedan priests, and, as it has been remarked, are to them a chief means of support. The scholars are the children of both Bushreens and Kaffirs; for such is the anxiety of parents to

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provide an education for their children, that their women, in this respect, overcome all their religious scruples, and the pagan parent unhesitatingly commits his offspring to a mohammedan teacher, for the value of it. The girls receive their instruction in the day-time, but the boys by the light of a large fire, before daybreak, and again late in the evening. They are considered, during their scholarship, as domestic slaves of the master, and are therefore employed during the day, in planting corn, bringing fire-wood, and other servile offices. Insomuch are the children, during the period of their scholarship, regarded as the slaves of their master, that when one of them has completed his education, the parents are informed that it is incumbent upon them to redeem their son, by giving to the schoolmaster a slave, or the price of a slave, in exchange. This is always done, if the parents can afford to do it. If not, the boy remains the domestic slave of the teacher, until he can, by his own industry, collect goods sufficient to ransom himself.

When a child has read through the Koran, and performed a certain number of public prayers, his course of instruction is finished. A feast is then prepared by the schoolmaster, and the scholar undergoes an examination. When the Bushreens have satisfied themselves respecting the learning and ability of the scholar, the last page of the Koran is put into his hand, and he is desired to read it aloud. After the boy has finished this lesson, he presses the paper against his forehead, and pronounces the word Amen; upon which, all the Bushreens rise, and shaking him cordially by the hand, bestow upon him the title of Bushreen. Thus every

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child educated in these schools is publicly admitted into the number of the followers of Mahomet.

This account, chiefly taken from Park, is amply confirmed by more recent travellers. Major Gray, speaking of Bondu, says, "There are schools in almost every town, for the instruction of those youths who intend making the mohammedan religion their profession; and in the principles and practice of which, and reading and writing Arabic from their sacred book, the Koran, they are solely instructed. The student or scholar is in all cases the servant of his teacher, who may employ him in any menial capacity whatever. They go about, when not at their lessons, begging, and sewing the country cloths together, for any who may want to employ them; the produce of those callings is brought to the master, who is always a priest, and appropriated to his use."

"The same traveller, speaking of Crunting, a town under the government of the king of Katoba, says, "The chief priest of the town paid us a visit, making us a present of a fowl and two bottles of milk; or, as they call it, giving a *reroue*, that is, a complimentary visit, which we returned in the evening. We found him seated in a large circular mud hut, surrounded by about twenty-five boys, from the age of seven to fourteen, learning to read and write Arabic. The Koran was the only book from which they were taught, and their education was generally considered completed, when they could read or expound any passage in it."

No system could be found more efficacious for propagating the pernicious faith of the false prophet in Africa. Its powerful influence cannot be better de-

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scribed than in the language of Park, who was an eye-witness to its operation.

"By establishing small schools," he says, "in the different towns where many of the pagan, as well as mohammedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the prophet, the mohammedan priests fix a bias on the mind, and form the character of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever afterwards remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily wished they had better instructors and a purer religion."

5. The character of mohammedanism, as it exists in Africa, next claims attention. This may be briefly summed up. The name of moslem is commonly assumed with but a most superficial acquaintance with the doctrines which the Koran inculcates; and the outward ceremonies which it prescribes are observed without any regard to their spirit and design. Many of the pagan superstitions of the country are everywhere, in a greater or less degree, blended with it. It is mild and tolerant in those kingdoms in which its opposers are the most powerful. It is as intolerant in Africa as in other parts of the world, where it has a secular ascendancy. Its influence will best be understood from the testimonies of those who have witnessed its effects.

With regard to the first of these particulars, Captain Clapperton, speaking of the Felátas, says, "These Africans keep up the appearance of religion. They

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pray five times a-day. They seldom take the trouble to wash before prayers, except in the morning; but they go through the motions of washing, clapping their hands on the ground, as if in water, and muttering a prayer. All their prayers and religious expressions are in Arabic, and I may say, without exaggeration, taking negroes and Felátas together, that not one in a thousand knows what he is saying. All they know of their religion is, to repeat their prayers by rote in Arabic. Of the Felátas, about one in ten are able to read and write. They believe, they say, in predestination, but it is all a farce."

Very similar is the testimony of Major Gray, in reference to the people of Bondu. "The religion," he says, "is mohammedan, but its precepts are not so strictly attended to in Bondu, as in some of the other states of Western Africa. There are mosques, of one kind or other, in every town; some of them, however, are nothing more than small square spaces enclosed with stakes, and kept cleanly swept. Here, as in all the others, prayers are publicly said five times every day. The usual mohammedan ceremonies of ablution are attended to." But he adds, "I have never seen a people who have more of the outward show of religion, with less of its inward influence."

A semi-paganism and mohammedanism are found in Africa existing together. Park makes mention of a numerous and powerful tribe, called Jowars, who, while they embrace the ceremonial part of the mohammedan religion, retain all their ancient superstitions. This, however, is not generally the case. The worship of idols, and the offering of sacrifices, especially human

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victims, are mostly abandoned on a profession of islamism. Still, numerous pagan superstitions are tenaciously retained.

Dreams and omens are held in the highest regard. Thus Clapperton affirms concerning the Felátas, that "they believe in divination by the book, and in good and bad omens. The following is an illustration of this fact:—

"This morning I paid the *gadado* a visit, and found him alone, reading an Arabic book, one of a small collection he possessed. 'Abdallah,' said he, 'I had a dream last night, and am perusing this book to find out what it meant. Do you believe in such things?' 'No my lord gadado; I consider books of dreams to be full of idle conceits. God gives a man wisdom to guide his conduct, while dreams are occasioned by the accidental circumstances of sleeping with the head low, excess of food, or uneasiness of mind.' 'Abdallah,' he replied, smiling, 'this book tells me differently.'"

Faith in charms also, is as conspicuous in the moslem as the pagan. This is evident, from the account already given of the sale of these rites of superstition, by mohammedan teachers. Mohammedans carry them about their persons, and even decorate the horses on which they ride with them.

The following statements, from the pen of a Wesleyan missionary on the Gambia, will still further illustrate the manner in which pagan superstitions are blended with mohammedanism in Africa. "This evening," he says, "I met with Jagger, the goldsmith, a respectable native and an excellent mechanic, but a superstitious mohammedan. A large tree in one cor-

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ner of his yard is much in his way, and he wishes it cut down, but dares not do so, lest he himself should immediately die." This is one of the many superstitions practised by the followers of the false prophet; though not nearly so bad as that of an infatuated mother, who, a short time ago, flung her infant babe into the river, because it did not walk quite so soon as the generality of children, supposing it possessed by an evil spirit.

We may add one other illustration of Africo-mohammedan superstitions, from the pages of Major Denham, most amusing in itself, but deeply affecting on account of the blind credulity on the one hand, and the wicked imposture on the other, of the parties concerned in it. "A very hale strong woman, the mother of Capt. Clapperton's servant, had taken the fever from her son. She was a Kuri, from one of the islands to the east of the Tchad, and had sent for several fighis, who after writing mysterious words, decided on her case as hopeless. At last an old *hadgi*, more than seventy years of age, was requested to come to her. He was a miserable old wretch, carrying nothing but an ink-bottle made of a small gourd, and a few reed pens. But he set about his business with great form, and with the air of a master; and in the evening, Tirega, my negro's wife, came to me quite in raptures, at the following wonderful story:—He said the woman was certainly enchanted, probably by the *kafirs*, meaning the English, but 'by the head of the prophet,' he should drive the devil out of her. He wrote a new *gidder*, that is, a wooden bowl, all over with sentences from the Koran. He washed it, and she drank the water. He said *bismullah*, forty times, and some other words, when she

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screamed out, and he directly produced two little red and white birds, which he said had come from her. 'What did you do in that poor woman? Why perplex her? why did you not come out of her before? 'We did not wish to hurt her much,' said the birds. 'But she has been *kaffiring*, old as she is, and there are others in her yet who will not come out so easily. But now, since you are come, she will not die.' But she had better take care for the future. We jumped into her when she went to the market, and she knows what she did there. The poor woman shed abundance of tears, and acknowledged that she had been a little thoughtless on the preceding market-day. The *fighi* was amply rewarded, and they were all made happy at the news of her recovery."

Toleration is exercised by mohammedans, wherever the religion of Mahomet may be said to be itself tolerated:—at least where pagans constitute the majority of the people. Thus it is said of the mohammedans amongst the Yoloffs, that they are held in high commendation, in consequence of the mildness and toleration which they affect. But then, we are informed by the same authority, that the Yoloff country contains more pagans than mohammedans. In like manner, Park declares, that in the exercise of the faith, they are not very intolerant toward such of their countrymen as retain their ancient superstition; and that religious persecution is unknown. This, however, would appear to be the case for the same reason as in the former instance; for he assures us, that the body of the people, both free and enslaved, persevere in maintaining the superstitions of their ancestors. The virtue, therefore,

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of toleration, in African mohammedanism, must be regarded as that of necessity rather than choice.

Instances illustrative of the intolerant spirit of the mohammedan faith, might, in considerable numbers, be adduced. It would, however, only needlessly trespass on the patience of the reader to relate them. When it is considered that the Koran authorises "true believers" to enslave the infidels, and promises to reward all their efforts to exterminate them from the earth, it must be self-evident to every reflecting mind, that a spirit of intolerance must mark the character of islamism, wherever it exists in circumstances which allow of its developement. With regard to Africa, it is enough to appeal to the desolating wars in which the mohammedan states are perpetually engaged against the Kaffir nations. The manner in which these are identified with the religion of the eastern prophet, may be gathered from the following language of a mohammedan prince.

The *almamy* of Boolibany, the capital of Bondu, on being expostulated with, in reference to a war he was commencing, said in reply, "It was not the good people they should kill. It was only those, who did not pray to God: and for doing this, the Almighty would be well pleased with him, and reward him; and if he himself fell in the contest, he should go to heaven, and his happiness there would be considerably enhanced, in consequence."

6. The influence of mohammedanism, notwithstanding all that has been pleaded in its favour, is to perpetuate, instead of obliterate, all the leading features of African misery and crime.

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Mr. Baker, Wesleyan missionary, speaking of the inhabitants of the Gambia, says, "Mohammedanism has made the people of this district the worst of men—utterly debased in their morals."

"Experience," says Robertson, "has shown, that if once islamism gets fairly into power, confirmation of barbarism or something worse on the inhabitants becomes universal. The effects of this faith on the minds of its professors and converts are such, that little hope can ever be entertained of forming commercial connexions which would be protected, or of introducing arts, or other means by which the condition of the people might be improved."

Major Gray, speaking of the natives of the plains of of Howrey, and "their base self-interestedness and duplicity, not unfrequently terminating in the assassination of a master of a small vessel, or the plunder of his cargo," says, "Here again the pernicious effect of the mohammedan faith makes itself evident; for these people are taught by their priests, to regard the murder of an infidel, or the destruction of his property, as a meritorious act, in the eyes of their prophet."

To this, in the conclusion of his work, he adds, "The main difficulty to our success in Africa, decidedly results from the extent and influence of the mohammedan religion. From the period of its introduction, as affecting the mode of African legislation, which is scarcely a century since, the negroes, but particularly the chiefs, have lost the little of honesty or natural feeling which they before possessed. The doctrines of mohammedanism are at right angles with those of

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Christianity. Or, if the doctrines be not so widely different, it is unquestionable that their influence produces the most melancholy and opposite results. Mohammedanism may direct the performance of moral duties; its theology may be wise, and its ethics sound; but no abstract rules, however good or salutary, can operate upon the believers, while the interests of its ministers are at open war with them. Whatever, then, the written code of mohammedanism may teach, I have invariably discovered, that in practice, it countenances, if it does not actually generate, cunning, treachery, and an unquenchable thirst of litigation and revenge. It produces no good but from the meanest sense of fear, and its very profession is of itself considered a sufficient absolution, from every atrocity committed to increase its disciples. But in Africa, its pernicious tendency is still more exemplified, and in those quarters where it has so long flourished with the rankest luxuriance.

"The Africans, in their pagan state, were not liable to the same superstitions as they are, and have been since their proselytism; because their religion was not overloaded with ceremonies, and their priests had but a narrow and contracted influence. Mohammedanism has made them hypocrites, as it keeps them slaves; and, while it prevails to its present extent, they must continue so. Essences are forgotten in the strict observances of a miserable ritual; and truth has lost its value and its splendour, when only seen through the jaundiced instruction of peculating maraboos. These jugglers in morality make whatever use they please of the victims of their sorcery; and if once they catch them in their snares, it is almost impossible to get free."

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Such then is mohammedanism as it exists in Africa;—improving in some small measure the outward condition of those who embrace it, but rendering them still the slaves of superstition and crime, while it operates as a direful scourge, inflicting accumulated misery on the wretched pagan who persists in adhering to the faith of his fathers.

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CHAPTER V.

SUPREME BEING, NOTIONS OF—SUBORDINATE DEITIES—FETISH—CHARACTER OF NEGRO GODS—LAKES—RIVERS—ROCKS—MOUNTAINS—BUSHES—ANIMALS—IMAGES—HEADON—SHANGOO—ARCHUND—DEVIL—DEPARTED SPIRITS—FUTURE STATE—REFLECTIONS.

In reviewing the religious condition of the pagan portion of the inhabitants of Africa, the objects of their worship first claim our attention.

1. Important religious truth is not unfrequently to be found amidst the rubbish of the vilest superstitions. Such, in Western Africa, is the case with regard to the great fundamental doctrine of the Divine existence.

The notion of a supreme being is universal in this part of the continent. Park assures us that having "conversed with persons of all ranks and conditions, on the subject of their faith," he can "pronounce without the smallest shadow of a doubt, that the belief of one God is universal amongst them. This testimony is amply confirmed by other travellers. Bosman, for example, tells us that "the Widah negroes have a faint idea of a true God;" and William Smith declares "that all the natives on the coast of Guinea, believe there is one true God, the author of them and all things."

When, however, it is stated that the existence of a supreme being is acknowledged, nearly all has been

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said that can be affirmed. In some instances, a few vague conceptions of the Divine nature and perfections, may indeed be discovered. Thus Bosman speaks of the Widah negroes ascribing to God "the attributes of almighty power and omnipresence." Among the Fantees, also, the names by which he is designated bespeak some acquaintance of his character. Thus, says Mr. Beecham, he is called *Yankumpon* from *yanku* (friend), and *pon* (great, or rather very great; for the word is used in a superlative sense). The meaning of the appellation thus appears to be "very great" or "greatest friend." To this name they sometimes prefix *nanah*, that is, "grandfather," or "father of us all." Another name used by the Fantees, recognises this supreme deity as the creator of man: it is *yehmi*, compounded of *yeh*, to make, and *emi*, me; and the idea intended to be conveyed by it, is—"he made me." The Ashantis ascribe to him, moreover, everlasting existence, by giving him a title written by Prince William Quantamissah, *titiquar-framuah*, which literally signifies "he endures for ever."

But whatever these acknowledgments of some of the natural perfections of the great Creator may imply, the general view which the natives of Western Africa entertain of his character, are as unworthy as the debasement of their moral and social condition would appear to indicate. Park assures us that "their notions of the Divine being, closely correspond with those which are commonly current among those in our native land, who reject the authority of revelation." And Robertson, speaking of the Fantees, says "their knowledge of a supreme being is very imperfect, for although they speak familiarly of *Sooman*, I could never trace their

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ideas further than that there was something which had the power of injuring them."

2. Nor is this all.—On the great primary truth of a supreme existence, it is, strange as it may appear, that the whole fabric of their superstitions is based. They conceive of the Divine Being as so exalted in his nature, and at so great a remove from such inferior creatures as themselves, that he cannot stoop personally, to concern himself in the affairs of men. They therefore suppose him to have committed the government of the world to a kind of subordinate deities, to whom almost exclusively they pay their acts of worship. Thus it is stated by Park, that "the concerns of this world, they believe are committed by the Almighty to the superintendence and direction of subordinate spirits." And Bosman declares to the same effect, that "they say God is too high to condescend to think of mankind, wherefore he commits the government of the world to those inferior deities which they worship." Hence, in the pagan superstitions of Africa, we have the remarkable phenomenon of the absurdities of polytheism, grafted on the sublime doctrine of the Divine unity.

"How this happens, will best appear," remarks Mr. Beecham, "from the tradition respecting the creation which has prevailed among them, with some variation, from the earliest period of their history. It is believed, that in the beginning of the world, God having created three white and three black men, with an equal number of women of each colour, resolved in order that they might be left without complaint, to allow them to fix their own destiny by giving them the choice of good and evil. A large box or calabash, was in consequence

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placed upon the ground, together with a sealed paper, or letter. The black men had the first choice, who took the calabash, expecting that it contained all that was desirable; but upon opening it, they found only a piece of gold, some iron, and other vessels of which they did not know the use. The white men opened the paper or letter, and it told them every thing. All this is supposed to have happened in Africa; in which country it is believed, God left the black men with the choice which their avarice had prompted them to make, under the care of inferior or subordinate deities, but conducted the whites to the water-side, where he communicated with them every night, and taught them to build a small vessel, which carried them to another country, from whence after a long period they returned, with various kinds of merchandise, to barter with the blacks, whose perverse choice of gold in preference to the knowledge of letters, had doomed them to inferiority."

The general name by which Europeans have designated these subordinate deities is *Fetish*. The word, however, is used in a wider sense, and employed to denominate any being or object supposed to possess supernatural power. It is applied, therefore, not only to the demons whom pagans worship, but also to the charms with which they protect themselves against their power. Their acts of worship are also sometimes called *fetish*.

2. The character of these imaginary objects of religious veneration now claims our attention. The natives regard them as spiritual and intelligent beings who take up their residence in various natural and material objects. This being the case, it will easily be

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believed their number is not very limited. Almost everything in nature is, on this principle, converted into *fetish*, together with as many artificial contrivances as it may appear to the interest of the priest to devise, or as the blind credulity of the people may be willing to confide in.

Lakes and rivers are commonly regarded as the residences of *fetish*. Several remarkable lakes and rivers in Ashanti are, on this account, worshipped by the deluded natives. Even at Cape Coast Town, according to Mr. Beecham, "two ponds, called Papratah, and Bicahun, enjoy the honour of deification. The former is especially esteemed, because it has not failed to supply the inhabitants with water when besieged by their enemies." The source of the Gambia, we are informed by Major Laing, is looked upon by the negro as the abode of these divine beings. "Man," he says, "has never dared to use the axe in the woods which overshadow these two springs, (from which the Gambia takes its rise,) because the natives believe them to be inhabited by spirits. Their reverence for these places," he adds, "is carried to such a pitch, that they are careful not to enter them; and if any one had seen me penetrate within them, I should infallibly have been put to death. The source of the Niger also, we are assured by the same authority, is the object of similar veneration. "It is said, that although not more than half a yard in diameter at its source, if any one was to attempt to leap over it, he would fall into the spring, and be instantly swallowed up; but that a person may step over it quietly without danger; also, that it is forbidden to take water from the spring, and that any one who at-

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tempts it, will have the calabash wrested from his hand by an invisible power, and perhaps lose his arm."

In some parts of Africa, these deities are identified with remarkable rocks and mountains. Thus a ledge of rocks in the river Deory, is said to have been inhabited by them; and it was with the greatest difficulty a party of church missionaries could, on one occasion, prevail on their men to paddle the canoe towards it, and not at all till they had thrown water into the air to appease the wrath of these imaginary beings. "The cliff on which Cape Coast castle stands," we are informed by Mr. Beecham, "is the supposed residence of a great fetish, called *Tahbil*, and when the sea breaks loudly against it, the natives say, 'The god is firing.'"

Bushes, moreover, are commonly held in the highest veneration; and, as they are supposed to be inhabited by some spiritual being, are never approached but with reverential awe. The smallest encroachment upon them, Major Laing was assured, would subject the aggressors to the most awful punishment from the Purrah—a singular and mysterious tribunal hereafter to be noticed.

Various animals, also, are in some places, looked upon as incarnations of *fetish*. Thus, according to Norris, at Dahomy, the inhabitants worship the tiger. At Grewhe, we are informed by Robertson, the principal fetish is a snake, which grows to about four feet in length. They are said to be quite harmless. "Many of them are tamed, and creep about the towns, from house to house, and are much caressed. Those who are visited by them, consider it an indication of good fortune. Those who profess religious worship often carry

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them in their arms, and round their shoulders, and otherwise play with and amuse them in a manner quite incredible: the snakes appear to have a sense of pleasure in such attention." "At Dix Cove, the crocodile has obtained divine honours. It is kept in a large pond near the fort, and any person going ashore at that place, may have a sight of it at the expense of a white fowl and a bottle of ardent spirits. The fetishman takes the fowl and the liquor, and proceeding to the pond, makes a peculiar noise with his mouth; on which the crocodile comes forth, and receives the fowl as his share of the present. When Mr. William de Graft resided at Dix Cove, he frequently witnessed the fetishman calling the crocodile out of the pond, to gratify the curiosity of Europeans. On leaving the water, the animal would run to the fetishman, who, as it approached within two or three feet, would throw the white fowl into its mouth, and then pour out a little of the rum on the ground; and he has frequently observed, that when there was any delay on the part of the fetishman, in presenting the fowl, the crocodile would immediately make towards any person or persons present who were dressed in white. Some years ago, Mr. Hutchinson, and Captain Leavens, were exposed to considerable risk; for the fowl having escaped out of the hand of the fetishman into the bush, the crocodile pressed them so closely, that had not a dog crossed the path, of which the animal made a repast, one of them would most probably have fallen a victim to its rapacity. The voracious creature frequently carries off sheep and dogs from the neighbourhood of the pond, and will also attack children. On his first going to Dix Cove, William de

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Graft was cautioned by a native merchant from approaching the crocodile, which had recently seized his daughter, and would undoubtedly have devoured her, had not the means of rescue been at hand. The crocodile which formerly received divine honours at Dix Cove, was much larger than the present one; but he grew so tame, that he was accustomed to leave the water of his own accord, and proceed to the house of the fetishman and the king, to receive his offering of a white fowl." These statements from the work of Mr. Beecham, are confirmed by Robertson, who says, speak-of the inhabitants of Dix Cove, "They worship the alligator, and have usually one so accustomed to be fed by the priest, that it appears quite tame, and will come out of a pond where it commonly lives, at any time when he calls it. I was induced, from the novelty of the circumstance, to see it fed, and was surprised at the manner in which it lay at his feet, looking sternly at the fowl, which he held in his hand, whilst he pronounced an oration. When it was thrown down, the alligator caught it with great celerity, and in such a way, from the general opinion entertained of this animal, as I should not have anticipated."

But not only does creation, animate and inanimate, furnish objects of adoration—artificial devices are also added. Images of wood, rudely carved into sundry forms, clumps of stones, bundles of sticks, and a variety of other things equally absurd, are, after the performance of certain ceremonies by the fetishman, regarded as representations of some particular deity or supposed to become inhabited by it.

"This vast assemblage of objects of worship is capable

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of a regular classification. Some may be regarded as the tutelar deities of the nation at large. Such is the great fetish at Abrah, in the Braffo country, which, from time immemorial, has been venerated in this character. Others have under their care particular towns. The inhabitants of Cape Coast Town congratulate themselves that they enjoy the protection of seventy-seven fetishes. Every town has one fetish-house or temple, often more, built of mud or swish, in a square or oblong form, and thatched over, or constructed of sticks or poles, placed in the ground in a circular from, and then tied together at the top, and thatched. In these temples several images are generally placed. Like the ancient Canaanites, the people always plant a grove where they build a place of idol worship, under the shade of which grove their superstitious rites are celebrated. Every fetish-man or priest, moreover, has his private fetishes in his own house. William de Graft describes one of those private collections, which he had the opportunity of examining, as consisting of images of men, one of a bird, stones encircled with strings, large lumps of cinders from an iron furnace, calabashes, and bundles of sticks tied together with strings. All these were stained with red ochre, and rubbed over with eggs. They were placed on a square platform, and shrouded by a curtain from the vulgar gaze. Then there are the domestic fetishes; for, like the Romans, the natives have their *penates*, or household gods. These are, in some cases, small images; in others, a stone about a foot square, with a bamboo string tied round it, or a calabash containing a string of beads. And, whatever may be the form or the material, red ochre and eggs are invariably the covering.

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These household fetishes are sometimes placed on the outside of a house, by the door, but most frequently in a corner of a room within, covered by a curtain."

To this classification, another might be added, founded on the distinguishing qualities, which these "gods many" are supposed to possess. The following account, illustrative of this, is given by a Sierra Leone missionary connected with the Church Missionary Society.—The first idol to which it has reference, is called Headon. "It is described as a rough figure, made of wood, tatooed all round the head. The hands are fastened to its side. Its height is about eighteen inches. This god is considered to comfort in the time of affliction. Should any female be delivered of twins, and one child die, the person goes to the grigri or fetishman, and obtains one of these gods, to serve as a substitute for the dead child, and to benefit the living one. If the child should become sick, the parents pray to Headon to restore it to health. To know what answer will be given to their prayers, the parent divides a kolah (a native fruit) into four parts, and throws them on the ground before Headon. If the round part of the greater number of pieces, when on the ground, remains upwards, it is considered a favourable reply is returned.

"The name of another idol is Shangoo, that is, the god of thunder. It is made of wood, like a large mortar. Whenever it thunders, all the worshippers of Shangoo pray to him, to be preserved from danger; and they believe that if the thunder injures any person or his house, that person has been doing something very wicked to make Shangoo angry with him.

"Another god is called Ellibar, that is, the devil. It

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is made of mud and clay—a very ugly figure, and small. It is supposed to possess power to compel men to sin; and all those who worship and trust in him, believe that he will make them wise to do evil, and at the same time prevent any one detecting them in their wicked practices. This is generally considered a great curse.

"The name of the next god is Orchund, that is, the god of water. There is a small quantity of water kept in a little vessel, for the purpose of applying it to the persons of both children and adults. The head person at this ceremony puts his finger into the water which is in the vessel, and wets the person coming to receive the rite on the head, breast, and back. Should any one who has undergone this ceremony fall sick, he sends to Orchund, to inquire whether he or any other god is angry with him, that he may do sacrifice, in order that his sickness may be taken away."

The inhabitants of Cape Palmas worship a being to whom they ascribe the power of restoring them from sickness. Robertson says, "When they are afflicted by lingering diseases, which are sometimes caused by the effects of cold, they attribute them to the influence of those endowed with preternatural power; and so confirmed are they in the opinion, that it is impossible to remove the idea by the most powerful reasoning. However, happily for those afflicted with such diseases, they entertain an opinion, that the grand devil resides at Cavally. Thither, therefore, they resort, and by certain fetish practices seek to propitiate his favour. In the result, they often recover, unless the disease be unusually inveterate, and not easily affected by the passions of the mind."

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4. The African notions of the devil or evil spirit, claim a distinct notice. Of the ideas entertained concerning him by the inhabitants of Dahomy, we are informed by Robertson, who says, "Although the Dahomians, by their warlike character, are the terror of the surrounding country, they are very superstitious, and are even alarmed at travelling alone in the night. At first, I supposed this to arise from the fear of beasts of prey; but, on inquiry, they told me that fire would frighten leopards, but that it would not have the same effect on (*leiba*) the devil. They believe that the genius of evil assumes various characters, and frequently flies about in the shape of a small snake, whose touch is death, or a source of continual misery and misfortune. Sometimes in the night, the professors of sorcery purposely alarm the inhabitants by declaring the devil to be in the wind, when the uproar and confusion is truly lamentable." The following account of this article of belief among the Ashantis, is given by Mr. Beecham. "This evil being is supposed to be ever at hand for the purpose of mischief; for when a person rises from his seat, his attendants are accustomed immediately to lie down upon their side, to prevent the devil from slipping into their master's place. He is annually driven away on the Gold Coast with great form and ceremony. This custom is observed at Cape Coast Town about the end of August. Preparation is made for the ceremony in the course of the day. As the hour of eight o'clock in the evening draws nigh, the people are seen collecting in groups in the streets, armed with sticks, muskets, and other weapons. At the instant when the eight o'clock gun is fired from the castle, a tremendous

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shouting, accompanied with the firing of muskets, breaks forth from all parts of the town, and the people rush into their houses, and beat about with their sticks in every corner, shouting and hallooing with all their strength. This sudden outburst of all kinds of noises often alarms Europeans, who have recently arrived, inducing them to suppose that an enemy has attacked the place. When it is imagined that the devil is excluded from all the houses, a simultaneous rush is then made out of the town, and the people in a body pursue the invisible enemy with lighted flambeaux, shouts, and the firing of muskets, until it is concluded that he is completely routed and put to flight. After this achievement they return, and in some of the towns the women proceed to wash and purify their wooden and earthen vessels, to prevent the devil from returning to their houses.

In Ashanti and Dahomy, however, the devil does not appear to be an object of worship. In other parts of Africa he is. Thus it is said that the Jollars, a tribe dwelling on the Gambia, pay homage to no being but the devil; him they worship, to him they offer sacrifice, and consecrate a house. "When we (the missionaries) reason with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they tell us, that nothing can harm them but the great wicked spirit, that they wish to live in friendship with the devil, and that then they will be safe. In like manner, Captain Beaver, speaking of the religion of the natives of the Island of Bulama, says, 'they believe that a particular spirit does all the good in the world, but that a much more active one does all the evil, and this latter is the only object to which they address, either

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prayers, sacrifices, or offerings." In the kingdom of Bambuk, so famous for its gold mines, the evil spirit is also worshipped. A curious, and as it sometimes proves, fatal superstition is recorded by Mollien in connexion with this. Through want of care, the sides of the pits, dug for working the mines, not unfrequently fall in, and overwhelm those engaged in collecting the precious metal. The natives, however, never adopt any precaution to prevent the recurrence of such accidents. They suppose, that the proprietor and manufacturer of the gold is the devil, who fabricates it in caverns, at an unknown depth in the heart of the earth, by means of his slaves; that of these, a certain number perish every year, and that the falling in of the pits, is only an expedient to which he has recourse, for replacing the workmen he has lost. Impressed with this opinion, they are afraid to rescue the sufferers, lest they should displease their infernal patron, and lead him to remove his gold manufactory to some other country.

5. Another class of objects held by the negro in superstitious regard, remain to be noticed; these are, the spirits of the departed. The existence of the soul, and a future state, are articles of universal belief in Africa. The testimony of Park is very express to this point. He makes the same statement with regard to a "future state of rewards and punishments," as he does in reference to the "belief of one God." He says, "he has not the shadow of a doubt, of its being entire and universal." On the same subject, Captain Beaver declares of those tribes with which he was acquainted, that "they believe in a future life, and that the good will there enjoy much happiness; but the punishment

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of the wicked," he adds, "as far as I could learn their opinion, is entirely negative, and consists rather in the privation of happiness, than in the suffering of any positive pain."

The negro notions of a future state are altogether confused and contradictory. Thus while they conceive of the soul under the similitude of the wind, and say, "that it can come into a room when the doors are closed, and there is no visible entrance," they entertain many notions utterly incompatible with its immateriality. According to Bowdich, the Ashantis believe, that "the kings, caboceers, and the higher class, dwell with the superior deity after death, enjoying an eternal renewal of the state and luxury they possessed on earth. It is with this impression that they kill a number of both sexes, at the funeral customs, to accompany the deceased, to announce his distinction and to minister to his pleasures." In these opinions, therefore, we have the origin of the most of those bloody offerings of human victims, hereafter to be noticed. "The spirits of the inferior classes, are believed to inhabit the houses of the fetish, in a state of torpid indolence, which recompences them for the drudgery of their lives. Those whose enormities nullify the mediation of the funeral custom, are doomed, in the imagination of others, to haunt the gloom of the forest, stealing occasionally to their former abodes, in rare but lingering visits." Very similar are the opinions of the Quojans, who, according to Browne, suppose the spirits of the departed to inhabit woods and groves consecrated to their residence.

The following practices make it still further evident, that the natives of Africa are destitute of any correct

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idea of the spirituality of the soul. The Quojans are said to carry provisions thrice a year to the sacred woods, for the sustenance of the *janaanin*, or spirits of the dead. The Timanees, we are assured by Major Laing, "before eating or drinking, invariably devote a small portion of what they are about to consume, by throwing it on the ground." "And the charnel houses, in which the remains of the kings or headmen are deposited, although never opened, have small apertures left in the walls, through which cooked provisions and palm wine are occasionally introduced, to be, as they conceive, consumed by the spirits of the departed." To this may be added the testimony of Messrs. Laird and Oldfield, who, describing the funeral ceremonies in connexion with the death of an elderly man in Brass Town, on the Nun branch of the Niger, state, that "at the head of the corpse was a bottle of rum, a calabash of palm wine, two live fowls, and some bananas,—all which were to be interred with it, to keep it from starving in another world."

The superstitious veneration with which the spirits of the dead are esteemed, is very great. They are regarded, in some parts of Africa, as the protectors of their surviving friends. Thus the Quojan is said, in every emergency, to fly to the graves of his ancestors, or the sacred groves where their spirits are supposed to reside, to offer rice, palm wine, and the blood of animals, and with loud cries to invoke their assistance. And Mr. Beecham says of the Fantees, that "they will frequently stand over the graves of their deceased friends, and invoke their spirits to protect them from harm."

They are also looked upon, as the source of evil, as

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well as of good; "if the children be ill, the illness is ascribed to the spirit of the deceased mother having embraced them. Elderly women are often heard to offer a kind of prayer to the spirit of a departed parent, begging it either to go to its rest, or at least to protect the family, by keeping off evil spirits, instead of injuring the children, or other members of the family by its touch. The ghosts of departed enemies are considered by the people, as bad spirits, which have power to injure them. Travellers into the interior have mentioned, that when overtaken on their journey by the night, their native attendants have manifested great fear, and have made the forest resound again with their shouts and yells, uttered with the intent to drive the evil spirits away."

Such are the objects of religious veneration among the pagan population of Africa. Thus it appears, that if they have not "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image, made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things," —they have, in their view, excluded him from the government of his world, and substituted in his room the wild creations of their own perverted imaginations, identifying these professedly spiritual existences with what is material, and ofttimes grossly absurd. It is also apparent, that almost every death which transpires, adds in some places to the countless multitude of objects esteemed with feelings of superstitious confidence or dread; and that, although the spirits of the departed do not occupy the same rank in the negro faith as their subordinate deities, yet, that they share, at least in some measure, those honours of prayer and invocation, which the Supreme Creator alone can rightly claim.

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CHAPTER VI.

CHARMS—OF WHAT THEY CONSIST—FETISH CEREMONIES—VIRTUES ASCRIBED TO CHARMS—CONFIDENCE REPOSED IN THEM—DEEPLY ROOTED CHARACTER OF THIS SUPERSTITION—MANNER IN WHICH CHARMS ARE SUPPOSED TO OPERATE.

To most of the subordinate deities of Africa, the natives, as we have seen, attribute evil rather than good. This has originated another class of superstitions, in order to secure protection from their influence; and this appears to have suggested the adoption of similar means to avert any calamity, real or imaginary, which may be apprehended. Hence the grigris, or charms, in the efficacy of which the negro is universally found, in almost every article of life, to repose such implicit confidence.*

These have received divers names from different writers. They have been called *grigri*, *saphies*, *quees*, and *fetishes*—each designation having reference to the same class of objects.

1. The articles of which African charms consist are

* Some travellers have confounded these charms with the gods of the negro. Thus Golberry, speaking of the pagan Yolof, says, "A tree, a serpent, a ram's horn, a stone, scraps of paper covered with Arabic characters,—are deities with them. It is certain, however, that the charms and subordinate deities of Africa are distinct from each other.

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exceedingly numerous. A stick, a stone, a piece of string, and numerous other trifles, equally insignificant, often make a grigri. But in those countries where mohammedanism has been introduced, charms are mostly select sentences from the Koran. These are worn and venerated alike by moslem and pagan. The superstition of the negro, however, appears to be such as to attribute the virtue of a charm to almost any object on which his fancy may fix. Mungo Park states, that on his departure from one of the places he visited, his landlord, "with a very great deal of diffidence, begged him to give him a lock of his hair. 'He had been told,' he said, 'that white men's hair made a saphie that would give the possessor all the knowledge of white men.' I had never," says our traveller, "before heard of so simple a mode of education, but instantly complied with the request; and my landlord's thirst for learning was such, that with cutting and pulling, he cropped one side of my head pretty closely, and would have done the same with the other, had I not signified my disapprobation by putting on my hat." Mr. Park also informs us, that frequent applications were made to him for written saphies. "If," said a negro on one occasion, "a Moor's saphie is good, a white man's must needs be better." In compliance with his earnest wishes, he furnished him with one, writing out for him the Lord's prayer. The writing of a saphie was, on another occasion, the stipulation for obtaining a supper; and no sooner had the traveller's fame as a saphie-writer spread abroad in the village, than other applications were made to him, by which means his immediate necessities at least were bountifully supplied. To this,

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however, it must be added, that in some instances objects not so inoffensive are used as charms. Among the Ashantis, the smaller joints, bones, and teeth of the most distinguished of their enemies slain in battle are worn as fetishes by the victors; and, on one occasion, it is said, that a chief on the Rio Pongas burnt a man alive to make a grigri of his ashes. These relics of superstition are worn about the person as convenience or fancy may dictate. They are commonly enclosed in a kind of case. Park speaks of sheeps' horns being highly valued for "keeping and securing" them. They are sometimes enclosed in a piece of red cloth. But when designed for some distinguished purpose, they are prepared at a most costly price; for some noble personage, for instance, they are often encased in gold. The amulet case is generally either hung round the neck, or suspended among other articles, either of use or ornament, by a girdle at the waist. In some instances, however, they are worn in immense numbers on all parts of the body. Golberry says, the Feloops, who in other respects go nearly naked, "are covered with grigris." And Mollien makes a similar statement with regard to the Biafras. He says, "They wear large drawers and a tunic with wide sleeves, and are covered with grigris." The Bornouese not only wear charms themselves, but adorn their horses with the same "preservatives."

But besides those charms which are worn about the person, there are others which consist in the performance of certain mystic ceremonies. On the departure of a coffle or trading caravan, for example, it appears customary, according to Park, on reaching the outskirts

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of the town, for the whole company to make a pause, and sit down. The friends and relations who have come out to take a last farewell of the travellers, are also ordered to do the same. A schoolmaster, and one or two of the alatees or merchants, then having taken their station between the two parties, pronounce a long and solemn prayer, after which they walk three times round the coffle, making an impression on the ground with the ends of their spears, and muttering a form of words. On one occasion, the same traveller informs us, that his attendants insisted on stopping, that they might perform a certain ceremony which was to insure them a safe journey. The ceremony consisted in muttering a few sentences from the Koran, and spitting upon a stone, which was thrown before them on the road. This was repeated three times, after which the negroes proceeded with the greatest confidence, every one firmly believing that the stone, like a scape-goat, had carried with it every thing that would induce superior powers to visit them with misfortune. On another occasion, the same writer states, that no sooner had they entered a dark and lonely part of a wood, than one of his guides made a sign for them to stop, and taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo that hung as an amulet round his neck, whistled very loud three times. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, and having said a number of short prayers, concluded with three loud whistles; after which he listened for some time, as if in expectation of an answer, and receiving none, told them they might proceed without fear, for there was no danger. In Ashanti, "previous to going abroad in the morning," Mr. Beecham remarks, "it is not unusual for a person

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to endeavour to fortify himself from evil by having recourse to fetish practices. One morning, when Mr. Hutchinson called on Apóko, this distinguished caboceer began to consult his fetish, by a number of strings having various ornaments on one end, to denote their good or evil qualities. These were mixed promiscuously together, and taking them in his right hand, he put them behind his back, and drew them out one by one with his left. This was repeated about twenty times. A wicker basket was then brought on a small stool, covered with a silk cloth. It contained two lumps like pincushions, made of eggs, palm oil, and other ingredients. Taking the stool, he turned it upside down, and making three holes in it with an instrument resembling a shoemaker's awl, he drove in an equal number of pegs with a stone, muttering to himself all the time, and waving each string round his right ear. An egg was then brought in broken at one end, which having been placed alternately on the lumps in the basket, was crushed upon the stool where the pegs had been inserted. The whole of this ceremony, Apóko said, he repeated every morning, for the express purpose of keeping him out of bad palavers all the day."

In the course of a war, fetish ceremonies, associated with circumstances of unmingled horror and savage brutality, are employed by the Ashantis to fortify themselves against evil, and to obtain fresh inspirations of vigour and courage. "Several of the hearts of the slain are taken out by the fetishmen or priests who attend the army, and having been cut to pieces, are mixed with blood and various consecrated herbs, while the accustomed ceremonies and incantations are per-

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formed. All who have ever before killed an enemy eat of the preparation, it being believed that if they did not, their energy would be secretly wasted by the haunting spirits of their deceased foes. This was the fate of the unfortunate Sir Charles M'Carthy, who was slain in the Ashanti war with the British. His heart was eaten that they might imbibe his valour, and his dried flesh and bones divided among his conquerors as charms."

2. The virtues ascribed to the negro amulet are of the most extraordinary character. Park states, that "some of the natives wear them to guard themselves against the bite of snakes or alligators; and in this case the saphie is commonly enclosed in a snake's or alligator's skin, and tied round the ancle. Others have recourse to them in time of war to protect their person against hostile weapons. But the common use to which they are applied, is to prevent bodily diseases, to preserve from hunger and thirst, and generally to conciliate the favour of superior powers under all the circumstances and occurrences of life." With this in view, in some parts of Africa, a long stick with a piece of string and a paper at the end is placed in front of a house, and regarded as a charm, which is said to stand between the inmates and God. A church missionary in Africa informs us, that on one occasion, he met "an old man having a number of these little talismans hung round him, who pulled out one, which he said would preserve him from being cut if any one struck him with a knife or sword, and another which he said would save him if he was shot at with a musket." "The Ashantis," according to Bowdich, "firmly believe that their fetishes make

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them invulnerable and invincible in war, paralyze the hand of the enemy, shiver their weapons, divert the course of balls, render both sexes prolific, and avert all evils except sickness and natural death."

Charms, moreover, are frequently employed for procuring some desired good, as well as for averting a threatened or apprehended evil. A Mandingo man, passing through Lugury, is stated to have left a small wooden drum, written all over in Arabic, which was reported to possess the singular virtue of being able to bring a vessel for trade, whenever the headman chose to beat it well, and to pray that one might come.

To this it may be added, that fetish ceremonies are employed not only to avert personal evil, but also with a view to the infliction of injury upon others. "If," says Mr. Beecham, "a revengeful or malicious design is formed, recourse is had to the fetish for carrying it into effect. During Mr. Hutchinson's stay at Kumasi, a person was executed for an attempt upon the life of his brother, who was a caboceer, or nobleman. The criminal was presumptive heir to the property, and his object was to obtain possession of it by the removal of his brother. To effect this, however, he did not use any personal violence, but only employed the fetish incantations which are resorted to for such purposes."

3. The confidence reposed by the natives of Africa in these absurd objects of superstition, is perhaps still more extraordinary than the virtues they ascribe to them. On a missionary's attempting to point out the folly of these lying vanities to a chief who was "loaded with them," he coolly replied, that "God protected the white man, but the black man could not do without

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grigris, as they protected him from evil and danger, the same as a fence protected a garden from the wild beasts of prey." Several of the Ashanti captains seriously offered to allow Mr. Bowdich to fire at them; and such is the confidence which the warriors of that nation generally repose in these mystical defences, that they rush fearlessly and headlong into the midst of the greatest dangers. In the praises of one of the great captains, proclaimed on a public occasion by the bards, this was the climax of the song—"He is invulnerable; his fetish no man can look upon and live." An instance is recorded by Oldfield in which a deluded woman actually submitted, at the peril of her life, to have the charm in which she confided put to the test. She imagined it rendered her invulnerable to all edged tools and cutting instruments. So positive and convinced was she of its efficacy, that she voluntarily assented to hold her leg, while some person should strike it with an axe. The king of her town, on hearing this, determined to try the power of her charm, and desired a man to take an axe, and see whether this wonderful *maghony* would protect her from its effects, considering that if it did so, such a charm would be of great advantage in war. Her leg was laid on a block, and a powerful blow given below the knee,—the result of which was as might have been expected. To the poor woman's great horror, and the terror of all present, her leg flew to the other side of the room." She, however, survived the amputation, and when seen by Oldfield and his companions, was crawling on her knees.

Of all African superstitions, the class now under consideration are perhaps the most inveterate and

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deeply rooted. It is wonderful how facts and arguments which might be expected to force home conviction of their absurdity, are evaded by the deluded negro. On one occasion an experiment was tried by the mate of a merchant-vessel on the grigri of a Kruman. It was nothing more than a piece of string tied round his wrist. The man protested that, as long as he wore it, no harm could happen to him, and that the individual who injured it would certainly die. On this, the mate took his knife from his pocket, and cut it asunder. The poor Kruman was almost frantic, and persisted in avowing that death must immediately follow the presumption of the sailor. No such result, of course, ensued; but the faith of the negro in the power of charms was by no means shaken; for instead of having his eyes opened to the delusion in which he confided, he attributed the want of efficacy in the charm to the man of whom it was purchased, and threatened on his return to his own country he would "make a noise with the fetishman for having sold him a bad fetish." *

4. Such are the facts of the grigri superstitions of Africa. To understand, however, the manner in which they are supposed by the negro to operate, is a matter of exceeding difficulty. The probability is, that in the vast majority of instances, this is a subject on which he never reflects, and which he would hardly deem worthy of investigation. This opinion is supported by the testimony of Mungo Park. He says, "It is not often

* The writer received this account from the mate, Mr. Williams, a pious young man, by whom the experiment was made.

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that the negroes make their religious opinions the subject of conversation." If, for example, "they are asked, for what reason they offer up a prayer on the appearance of a new moon, the answer is, that custom has made it necessary; they do it because their fathers did it before them. They are content, they say, to follow the precepts and example of their forefathers through the various vicissitudes of life."

Where, however, any sort of intelligence on the subject exists, it would seem that charms are thought to have an influence on those subordinate deities to whom the government of the world is supposed to be committed; and, by means of these, to answer the varied purposes for which they are employed. The African appears to imagine that his charms serve to propitiate the favour of his gods; sometimes inducing them to bestow a desired good, and at others, to interpose their power in the prevention of a threatened evil. As, however, the objects of negro worship are more commonly the patrons of evil than good, charms are mostly imagined to influence them, so as to constrain them to refrain from doing injuries they would otherwise commit; or if, from revengeful or malicious motives, one individual desires the infliction of injury upon another, charms are conceived to induce these supernatural beings to lend their aid in the accomplishment of his wicked designs.

If this be true, how deplorable a picture do the grigri superstitions exhibit of the character of the objects of religious veneration in Africa; and what must be the religious debasement of a people where such superstitions prevail, and such beings are wor-

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shipped! Their subordinate deities have shut out the Supreme Creator from their view; but their grigri practices have placed him at a still farther remove from them; and their confidence may rather be said to be reposed in the vain and foolish amulets they wear, or the stupid and unmeaning, and oftentimes savage ceremonies they perform, than even in those beings whom they profess to esteem as the representatives of God upon earth. It may be fairly questioned whether there be any country under heaven where the Almighty is more completely excluded from the superintendence and government of his creatures, than in this unhappy land.

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CHAPTER VII.

SACRIFICES—ANIMALS—OTHER OFFERINGS—OCCASIONS OF SACRIFICE—TRADE—SICKNESS—ANNUAL FEASTS—SACRIFICES TO THE DEVIL—HUMAN SACRIFICES—PREVALENCE—EXTENT—ORIGIN—OCCASIONS—WAR—VICTORY—DEATH OF GREAT MEN—SICKNESS—CAPRICE OF THE SOVEREIGN—SACRED DAYS—TRADE—IMPORTANT UNDERTAKINGS—GREAT FESTIVALS—CRUELTIES—FETISH TREE.

SACRIFICIAL offerings have constituted an important feature of almost every religious system the world has ever known. Originating at first in Divine appointment, as typical of the one great Offering which perfects for ever them that are sanctified, they have been retained where the worship of the Supreme Creator has been abandoned, and presented by his apostate creatures, in homage to those multiplied and imaginary beings who have been permitted to usurp his throne. Nor have the brute creation alone supplied the victims which in heathen lands have been devoted to this purpose. Men, women, and children have been immolated on the altars of cruel and vindictive deities; and these deeds of blood have been perpetrated under circumstances the most horrifying and diabolical. These remarks are applicable not only to ancient, but to modern heathenism; and receive, especially the last, a fearful corroboration in the religious condition of Africa

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at this very hour. The extent to which human sacrifices prevail in Africa is almost incredible, and beyond all precedent. What with the desolations of the slave-trade, and the desolations of superstitious cruelties, Africa is converted into one vast field of blood.

SECTION I.

1. THOSE sacrifices which are exclusive of the offering of human victims, first claim our attention. Of these there are a great variety. Fowls, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs, are all slain for this purpose. Dogs are sacrificed by the inhabitants of Nufi. Among the Timanees, white fowls, sheep, or goats, are considered ominous of good luck, and are consequently sacrificed to appease the evil spirits. The Ashantis, although they have an ample supply of sheep, seldom use them for any other purpose than that of making sacrifice to fetish. The Papels, whose wealth chiefly consists in large herds of oxen, sacrifice these to their deities. Fowls, however, constitute the most common and ordinary victims. Park says,—"The African supposing the woods to be inhabited by a race of spirits very powerful, and of a white colour, are particularly anxious to propitiate their favour; and for this purpose are accustomed to offer in sacrifice a white chicken, which they tie by the legs to one of the branches of a particular tree." An illustration of the latter part of this statement, and also of the manner in which the offering is sometimes made, was witnessed by Dupuis, on his journey to Kumasi. He was aroused from sleep

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one morning at an early hour, at the place where he had stopped for the night, by the entrance of a man whom he discovered to be the master of the house, with a present for his tutelary god, which in this case happened to be a tree growing at the door of the apartment where he (Dupuis) lodged. The offering, which consisted of a white and speckled fowl, and a small calabash, containing a little corn and plantain steeped in a fluid looking like blood, was in the first instance placed on the ground close by the tree; but afterwards the members of the fowl were severed from each other, and suspended by a piece of cotton yarn upon one of the lowest branches. A blackish fluid, contained in another calabash, was then poured at the root of the tree as a libation, during the recital of a prayer which Dupuis did not understand. The washing of the stem of the tree with a colouring made from grey and white clay, concluded the ceremony.

Besides these living creatures, eggs, plantains, and other fruits, are presented as offerings to fetish. In Dahomy, Hutton states that the usual method of offering sacrifices, is to break eggs and leave them on the ground which they consecrate to fetish. In Ashanti, fowls, which are very numerous, are preserved for the sake of their eggs, which are devoted in great abundance to the same purpose. When Mr. Freeman was on his way to Fomunna, the path was literally strewed with offerings to fetish, consisting of boiled eggs, beads, plantains, &c.

2. The occasions on which these sacrifices are presented, are more or less numerous. The inhabitants of Nufi make an annual offering of a black bull, a black

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sheep, and a black dog. The Bijugas are accustomed to sacrifice a cock, prior to their undertaking any thing serious, or sanctioning any weighty measure, such as an expedition for plunder, selling one of their islands, or even entering into trade with a person whom they have not known. Should a white stranger go to their island with a view to forming any connexion with them, they would previously sacrifice one or more cocks; and from the examination of the gizzard, they pretend to ascertain whether the motives of his visit are good or evil. In Ashanti, the offering of sacrifice associated with fetish ceremonies, is had recourse to in cases of extreme sickness. In some instances, the priest takes a fowl or cat, and ties it to a stick, by which operation it is barbarously squeezed to death; the stick is then placed in the path leading to the house, for the purpose of deterring or hindering the evil spirits from approaching it. When the patient is known to be a rich man, a present of gold dust is required, and sheep are directed to be offered. Mr. Bowdich states, that during the illness of his native guide at Kumasi, several sheep were sacrificed, and that he was fetished until the last moment, and died amidst the howls of a number of old fetish women, who continued to besmear with eggs and other ingredients, the walls, door-posts, and every thing about him, until he had ceased to breathe.

The victims slain in sacrifice are sometimes eaten by the offerers. This is the case among the Yaribanes. "The religion of the people of Yariba," says Clapperton, "as far as I could comprehend it, consists in the worship of one God, to whom they offer sacrifices of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and fowls. At the yearly feast, all

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these animals are sacrificed at the fetish house, in which a little of the blood is spilled on the ground. The whole of them are then cooked, and the king and all the people, men and women attending, partake of the meat, drinking copiously of *pitto* (country ale)."

3. In these sacrificial offerings, the devil, in those countries where he is worshipped, has his share. When, for example, an accident takes place in the gold mines of Bambuk, which proves fatal to any of the workmen, the family of the deceased make an offering to the prince of darkness of a black cow, to propitiate his favour towards their relative. The following extract from the "Sketches of a Missionary's Life," may be taken in further illustration of the custom of sacrificing to the spirit of evil. It will also serve to show how deeply rooted in the negro's mind are the most absurd superstitions.

"This morning we passed a place called Devil's Point, where our pilot consigned to the deep, in honour of his satanic majesty, a small portion of every eatable in the ship's cargo. My endeavours to prevent his doing so were fruitless, 'for,' said he, 'the white man's way and the black man's way are very different.' I told him that by making such an offering, and by wearing *grigris*, he virtually acknowledged himself to be the devil's servant. But he maintained, that though *grigris* may be useless in opposing white men, they are often effectual for a black man in wars with other blacks, and that if he did not give something to the devil on his way up the river, (Gambia,) some harm would certainly befall him, so that he should never be able to return. For the prince of darkness is said to have a residence under this

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point of land, and to stretch out his long arms beneath the water, (the river is here two miles wide,) in order to receive the offerings presented by his worshippers."

Such are the ordinary sacrificial offerings in which the unhappy children of Africa are accustomed to pay their homage to those imaginary beings which they regard with superstitious dread. By such acts of worship do they seek to avert their anger, or propitiate their favour.

SECTION II.

The sacrifice of human victims now claims our attention—a subject which presents a picture of our fallen nature the most humiliating, harrowing, and revolting which it is possible to contemplate.

One would gladly shrink from the task of entering into the detail of the horrid scenes and atrocious cruelties, which this part of African degradation and wretchedness exhibits. If, however, "true humanity consists not in a squeamish ear, but in a disposition of heart to relieve misery"—and if it be needful to reflect upon human wretchedness in order to feel that commiseration which the case may demand, and to feel deeply, in order to our being prompted to the vigorous use of those means which Providence may have placed within our power—then, painful as the task may prove, it must not be abandoned; but, in the spirit of genuine benevolence, it must be pursued, accompanied with a fixed determination that no effort on our part shall be wanting which enlightened piety and Christian

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compassion may dictate, or which the God of mercy may enable us to employ.

1. In relation to the prevalence of human sacrifices, Mr. M'Queen remarks, "that these practices prevail in Ashanti, Dahomy, Benin, and in every other country and state in that quarter of Africa where the mohammedan religion and the mohammedan power do not prevail, and greater or lesser according to the magnitude of the state or country, and the strength of the power thereof." The atrocious cruelties and crimes practised under the dictation of a bloody and debasing superstition, therefore, to which the attention of the reader is now to be directed, must be regarded as attributable not merely to a single tribe or nation, but, in a greater or less degree, to the most considerable portion of a vast continent; and, what is worse, increasing in enormity in proportion as their perpetrators rise in the scale of worldly grandeur and greatness.

2. The extent to which human sacrifices are offered is appalling beyond measure. At the death of Adahunzan, one of the kings of Dahomy, two hundred and eighty of his wives fell as victims to the sanguinary superstition of the country. As a punishment for a conspiracy detected against the king of Ashanti, on one occasion no fewer than seven hundred persons were sacrificed at the grave of the king's mother. In this same kingdom, at the conclusion of the Gaman war, itself full of horror and bloodshed, two thousand wretched victims, selected from the prisoners taken in the contest, "were slaughtered over the royal death-stool in honour of the shades of departed kings and heroes." "When

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Osai Quamina died, the funeral custom was repeated every week for three months, two hundred slaves being sacrificed, and twenty-five barrels of powder being fired on each occasion; but when the king's brother died during the invasion of Fantee, the king devoted three thousand victims, two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners, and nearly one thousand more were furnished by various towns, making in the whole about four thousand human beings who perished at the grave of this royal personage. Such is the fearful extent to which these deeds of blood are perpetrated in the great semi-barbarous states of Western Africa.

3. The origin of these superstitious barbarities is involved in considerable obscurity. Many of the natives themselves—perhaps the great majority of them—are unable to render any intelligent reason for their adoption. "Many of them," Mr. Freeman states, "seem to have an utter dislike to this horrid custom; while others are sunk into such a state of apathy, that they are quite indifferent about it, though their lives as well as others, are continually in danger." One, however, of the principal sources of these inhuman cruelties is unquestionably to be found in the views which the people entertain of the deities they worship. The king of Ashanti once explained in conversation, that "the fetish makes war for strong men, because they can pay plenty of gold and *proper sacrifice*." On the achievement also of a great victory which terminated a destructive war, the national bards of Ashanti exultingly sang of "a river of perjured blood which propitiated the wrath of the river god." The gods are

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thus exhibited as most sanguinary in their character, being pleased not only with the blood of brutes, but delighting also in that of human offerings; and hence, as Mr. Beecham forcibly remarks, "to obtain a supply of these victims for their altars is a principal end for which the national deities are supposed to promote war; and the sacrifice of their prisoners, consequently, becomes a religious obligation on the part of the people."

The origin of this custom is further to be traced to the imperfect notions which are entertained by the natives of Africa of a future state. Supposing, as stated in a former chapter, the king, caboceers, and the higher class, to dwell with the superior deity after death, enjoying an eternal renewal of the state and luxury they possessed on earth, their survivors kill a certain number of both sexes at the funeral customsi to accompany the deceased, to announce his distinction and to administer to his pleasures. They are also influenced to this by the conviction, that the spirits of their departed friends would incessantly haunt the place of their earthly abode, inflicting all manner of evil upon the surviving members of their family, if the usual "customs" were not paid.

4. The occasions on which human sacrifices are offered are very numerous. The commencement of a war, the achievement of a victory, and the death of distinguished personages, are celebrated by some bloody sacrifice. Nor is this all: the graves of the departed must, in some instances, be annually "watered" with human blood. Besides this, cases of sickness, the barbarous freak of some cruel tyrant to gratify his notions of brutal grandeur, events of more than ordinary moment, as well as seasons of special devotion or of religious

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festivity, all afford occasions for the perpetration of these horrid deeds. A few facts will best establish and illustrate these particulars.

Wars are seldom undertaken without the offering of human victims to fetish. "When the king" (of Ashanti) says Dupuis, "was about to open a campaign against Gamam, he collected together his priests to invoke the royal fetish, and perform the necessary orgies to insure success. These ministers of superstition sacrificed thirty-two male and eighteen female victims, as an expiatory offering to the gods; but the answers from the priests being deemed by the council as still devoid of inspiration, the king was induced to *make a custom* at the sepulchres of his ancestors, where many hundreds bled. This, it is affirmed, propitiated the wrath of the adverse gods."

Similar enormities, only on a larger scale, commonly mark the achievement of a victory. The conclusion of the above-mentioned war, at which two thousand were slain, has already been referred to. The like barbarities are practised on similar occasions in Dahomy. "One of the princes of Dahomy having achieved a decided victory over one of the neighbouring states, not only gave largesses to his officers and chiefs, but, according to the savage custom of the country," says Norris, "he floated the altars of his gods and the tombs of his ancestors with the blood of his unfortunate captives." On another occasion, according to the same authority, eighteen hundred prisoners were sacrificed; and on another, no fewer than four thousand, being the whole number taken.

The death of distinguished personages, as it is of course a more common event, affords more frequent

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occasion for the exercise of this sanguinary superstition. In some instances, the funeral custom, as it is called, is delayed for some time after the decease. In this case, a comparatively small number of victims are sacrificed during the interval, to attend the spirit of the departed, until the rest shall be slain. Meredith states, that in the year 1800, when a king of Apollonia died, one or two human beings were sacrificed every Saturday until the great custom took place, which did not happen until six months after his decease. It is usual, moreover, under any circumstances, to sacrifice a slave or two the very moment the last breath has been drawn. Thus, the king of Ashanti in his last battle with the British at Dodowah, whenever it was announced to him that any of his captains had been killed, immediately caused slaves to be immolated, to accompany them into the other world. And for the same reason, the kings of Quatchie, Quofie, and Adumata, each sacrificed a young girl as soon as the king's mother had breathed her last. Hence, the sounding of musketry announcing the death of a person of distinction, is the signal for the commencement of the work of destruction, when in an instant a crowd of slaves burst forth from the house, and run towards the bush, flattering themselves that the hindermost, or those surprised in the house, will furnish the human victims for the sacrifice, if they can but secrete themselves until the custom is over.

The day for the funeral and the making of the general "custom" at length arrives, and then an extraordinary scene of splendid barbarism and cold-blooded cruelty presents itself. Mr. Bowdich witnessed the funeral custom for the mother of one of the principal

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caboceers. Walking out about noon, he and his friends saw the vultures hovering over two headless trunks scarcely cold, and were passed by several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred each, who danced along in a movement resembling skating, lauding and bewailing the deceased in the most dismal strains. Other women carried on their heads rich cloths and silks, and other valuables, which had belonged to her. All these women were profusely daubed with red earth, in barbarous imitation of those who had succeeded in besmearing themselves with the blood of the victims. The rush of the crowd was most tumultuous; and the noise of the horses, drums, and muskets, with the yells, groans, and screechings, which were heard in every direction, produced a stunning effect. Now and then, a victim was hurried along at full speed by persons, the savage delight of whose countenances gave them a fiend-like appearance; and the chiefs and captains arrived in rapid succession, their approach being announced by the firing of muskets. Presently the king's arrival in the market-place was made known, and the crowd rolled impetuously towards it, but the sabres of the soldiers, which were freely used, hewed a way for the procession. The son of the deceased led the van, dancing from side to side like a bacchanal, and appearing as though he were intoxicated with the adulatory praises which were bellowed forth by his attendants. He looked upon the victims, who had large knives passed through their cheeks, with a savage joy bordering on frenzy, while they regarded him with indifference or apathy. The other chiefs and captains, adorned in all the splendour of their fetish dresses, followed in the train.

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On arriving at the market-place, the king was seen seated with his usual attendants and state display. Thirteen victims, surrounded by their executioners in black shaggy caps and vests, were pressed together by the crowd at his left hand. The troops of women already described, paraded on the outside of the circle, vociferating the dirge; and the utmost powers of the horns and drums were called forth. A discharge of musketry then took place near the king, which spread round the circle, and was continued without intermission for an hour. The soldiers kept their stations; but the chiefs, after firing their muskets, bounded once round the area, with the gesture and extravagant behaviour of maniacs, followed by their sycophants, who waved flags over their heads, and roared forth their "strong names." The head fetish-women of the family were at the same time observed rushing through the ranks, as the muskets were fired, and screaming as though in the greatest agonies. The firing having somewhat subsided, rum and palm wine were copiously drunk, and the principal females of the family, many of whom were described as being very handsome, and of elegant figures, came forward to dance.

A present of sheep and rum having been exchanged between the king and the son of the deceased, the drums announced the sacrifice of the victims, who were visited by all the chiefs in turn. The executioners struggled with each other for the bloody office; the victims looking on, meanwhile, with marvellous apathy. At length, an executioner snatching a sword, lopped off the right hand of one of the victims, who was then thrown down, and had his head sawed, rather than cut

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from the body. The remaining twelve were in like manner mangled and butchered upon the spot, and others, principally females, were provided, to be sacrificed in the bush where the body was interred. The heads of all the slaves who perished having been placed in the grave, several of the retainers of the family were called in a hurry to assist in lowering the coffin; when just as it touched the heads which paved the bottom of the grave, one of the freemen, as is usual on such occasions, was stunned by a violent blow,—a deep gash was cut in the back part of his neck, he was rolled in upon the body, and the grave was instantly filled up.

Such is the funeral custom of a person of distinction in Ashanti. Its magnitude, however, greatly depends on the rank of the deceased. On the death of a king, all the customs which have been made for the subjects who have died during his reign, must be simultaneously repeated by the families (the human sacrifices, as well as the carousals and pageantry) to amplify that for the monarch, which is also solemnised independently at the same time, with every excess of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd; even a man of rank, if they meet him, is their victim; nor is their murder of him or any other, on such an occasion, visited or prevented. The scene can hardly be imagined. The king's *ocras*, who are slaves peculiarly devoted to his service, and distinguished by a large circle of gold suspended from the neck, amounting in number to more than a hundred, are all sacrificed on his tomb, together with women in abundance.

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To this it is to be added, that the funeral customs of the kings of Ashanti are frequently repeated; and Bantama, the royal sepulchre, is ever and anon made to reek with the blood of newly-slain victims.

In some parts of Africa it is the uniform custom to sacrifice one or more of the wives of the departed. The slaughter of the victim in this case is accomplished by various methods. Sometimes she is buried alive alongside the corpse of her husband; at others, she is thrown into the river and drowned; while at Jenna, she is either starved or poisoned. An affecting instance of the latter is recorded by Lander. "She, (the wife of the departed governor of Jenna,) was discovered," he says, "in her hiding-place; and the alternative of a poisoned chalice, or to have her head broken by the club of a fetish-priest, was offered her. She chose the former mode of dying, as being the less terrible of the two; and has come to our yard to spend her last hours in the society of her faithful slaves. Females have been coming all day to condole with her. The principal males in the town have likewise been to pay their last respects to their mistress; and so has her grave-digger, who has just risen from prostrating himself on the ground before her. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the priests, and the prayers of the venerable victim to her gods for fortitude to undergo the dreadful ordeal, her resolution has forsaken her more than once. She has entered our yard twice, to expire in the arms of her women, and twice has she laid aside the fatal poison, in order to take another walk, and gaze once more on the splendour of the sun, and the glory of the heavens; for she cannot bear the

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idea of losing sight of them for ever. She is restless and uneasy, and would gladly run away from death, if she durst. Meanwhile, her grave is preparing. The poison used by the natives on these occasions destroys life in about fifteen minutes."

Cases of sickness sometimes furnish occasions for human sacrifices. Thus it is stated that during the illness of Osai Quamina, young virgins were regularly sacrificed to the fetish on certain days in the week, for the recovery of his health.

Hecatombs of victims are also sometimes offered at the mere caprice of the sovereign. The following fact furnishes a frightful corroboration of this statement. After a great victory achieved by the army of the king of Dahomy, the officers and soldiers having been liberally rewarded by the distribution of cowries and cloth, the skulls of the vanquished enemy were ordered to be applied to the decoration of the royal walls. The operators accordingly proceeded with their work, till the skulls were all expended, when it appeared that there were not a sufficient number for the completion of the task. On the defective part of the walls being measured, and a calculation made, it was found that one hundred and twenty-seven more heads were required, to finish this barbarous embellishment. The prisons, therefore, where the wretched captives had been confined, were thrown open, and the requisite number of devoted victims dragged forth to be slaughtered in cold blood, for this hellish purpose. This act of barbarity is said to have been applauded by all present.

Days sacred to religious purposes, it would seem, are

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also in some instances distinguished by the offering of human sacrifices. An allusion is made to this practice by Dupuis. "Monday," he says, "being a day of religious importance, the king, I was informed, had been engaged in the forenoon in the rituals of his faith; and three human victims, in addition to cattle, had been offered to the favoured deities."

In some parts of Africa, human victims are offered to the gods merely to accomplish some purely secular end. A case of this kind is recorded by Robertson. "A vestal female," he states, "is frequently impaled here (Awane), as a sacrifice to improve the navigation of the river, and extend their trade. The ceremony is performed with the most barbarous brutality, by pressing the body on a sharp stake, the extremities being fastened to two adjoining posts; in this state the victim is left to expire. The bustards, which are very numerous here, sometimes even attack the body before life is extinct."

When matters of extraordinary importance are to be deliberated upon, or measures of great moment are about to be engaged in, human sacrifices are also presented. Dupuis states, that his own entry into Kumasi was signalised by the sacrifice of a number of human victims, slaves, and malefactors, who had been reserved by the king and his chiefs for many days previous. The number of victims offered up at the palace was nine, and every chief was compelled to furnish an additional quota to the sanguinary offerings.

Some other occasions, when the streets of Ashanti and Dahomy are made to stream with human blood, remain to be noticed. These are the great stated

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festivals of these nations. The Yam custom of Ashanti is celebrated about the end of August, or the beginning of September, when the yam is ready for use. The feast is intended as a public acknowledgment on the part of the people of the kindness of the fetishes in preserving them through another year, and permitting them to see the new yam. During the celebration of this festival, neither theft, intrigue, nor assault, are punishable; but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to the unblushing indulgence of its passions. The most barbarous spectacles are exhibited. Every caboceer, at the custom witnessed by Bowdich, as he arrived, sacrificed a slave at the gate of the capital by which he entered; and in the procession of the first day, all the heads of the kings and caboceers who had been conquered, from the reign of Osai Futa, down to that time, with those who had been executed for rebellion, were carried by two parties of executioners, each consisting of upwards of a hundred individuals. In the skulls were inserted sprigs of thyme, to prevent the spirits of the deceased from troubling the king; and as the bearers of those horrid trophies passed along in an impassioned dance, they clashed their knives upon the skulls either with the most frightful gestures, or with an expression of indescribable irony and ridicule. About a hundred persons, mostly culprits, are generally sacrificed in different quarters of the town at this custom. Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matters within, (fresh and putrified,) to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All

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the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed, and place it on the hole.

The Adai custom is frequently marked by similar scenes. Time, in Ashanti, is divided into periods of three weeks, and the first of the three is regarded as the good week of Adai. The Ashantis honour its return by the above-named religious festival. At the setting of the sun on the day previous to the custom, the great death-drum which stands at the gate of the palace, is struck with much force; on hearing which signal, all the persons connected with the royal household shout, and their exclamations are echoed by all the people throughout the capital. Music and firing are continued throughout the night; and on the next morning, the king proceeds to the fetish-house opposite to the palace, and offers in sacrifice several sheep, whose blood is poured on the golden stool which is regarded as the palladium of the kingdom. There is then a numerous assemblage of all ranks in the palace yard; a great display takes place; and it has been calculated that the king, on every such occasion, makes presents to the superior captains and others, amounting in value to the sum of four hundred pounds sterling.

Of this custom, Mr. Hutchinson remarks, "The greatest human sacrifice that has been made during my residence in Kumasi took place on the eve of the Adai custom early in January. I had a mysterious intimation of it two days before, from a quarter not to be named. My servants being out of the way, I was addressed, 'Christian, take care and watch over your

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family. The angel of death has drawn his sword, and will strike on the neck of many Ashantis. When the drum has struck on Adai eve, it will be the death signal of many. Shun the king, if you can; but fear not.'" As the time approached to beat the drum, and Mr. Hutchinson sat meditating upon the horrors of the ensuing night, he suddenly received a message to attend the king, and accordingly waited upon him. While he was with him, the officers whose duty it was to attend the king at sacrifices, came in with their knives and other weapons of destruction.

"The whole of the night, the king's executioners traversed the streets, and dragged every one they found to the palace, where they were put in irons. But some one had disclosed the secret, and almost every one had fled; and the king was disappointed of most of his distinguished victims. Next morning being Adai custom, which generally brought an immense crowd to the city, every place was silent and forlorn; nothing could be found in the market, and his majesty proceeded to his morning sacrifice of sheep, &c. attended only by his confidants and the members of his own family. When I appeared at the usual time, he seemed pleased at my confidence, and remarked that I observed how few captains were present. He appeared agitated and fatigued, and sat a very short time.

"As soon as it was dark, the human sacrifices were renewed; and, during the night, the bones of the royal deceased were removed to the sacred tomb at Bantama, to be deposited along with the remains of those who had sat on the throne. The procession was splendid, but not numerous; the chiefs and attendants being

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dressed in the war costume, with a musket, and preceded by torches. The sacred stools, and all the ornaments used on great occasions, were carried with them; the victims, with their hands tied behind them, and in chains, preceded the bones; whilst at intervals the songs of death and victory proved their wish to begin the war. The procession returned about three P. M. on Monday, when the king took his seat in the market-place with his small band, and 'death! death! death!' was echoed by his horns. He sat with a silver goblet of palm wine in his hand; and when they cut off any head, imitated a dancing motion in his chair. A little before dark, he finished his terrors for that day, by retiring to the palace; and soon after, the chiefs came from their concealment, and paraded the streets, rejoicing that they had escaped death, although a few days might put them in the same fear. I dared not send out my people to procure any thing, lest they should be murdered; and, in fact, there was nothing in the market to be had,—there was not even a drop of water in the house. The sacrifice was continued till the next Adai custom—seventeen days."

Similar deeds of barbarity and blood are perpetrated at the annual customs of Dahomy.

Such are some of the principal occasions on which human sacrifices are offered in Africa; their blood "watering" the graves of departed kings and heroes, and overflowing the altars of the imaginary deities of this unhappy land.

5. The outrageous cruelties and horrid scenes commonly associated with these superstitious barbarities, are as revolting to humanity as the practices them-

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selves. As Mr. Bowdich and his companions entered Kumasi, their attention was forced to a most inhuman spectacle which was paraded before them for some minutes. "It was a man whom they were torturing, previous to sacrifice. His hands were pinioned behind him; a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like the figure of 8; one ear was cut off, and carried before him,—the other hung to his body by a small bit of skin; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust through under each shoulder-blade. He was led with a cord passed through his nose, by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him." On one occasion, the general of the king of Dahomy's army, having given orders to sacrifice the aged and infirm among the prisoners taken in a recent war, sought to heighten this bloody act with accumulated horrors. He committed the execution of them to the boys of his army, whom he meant thereby early to inure to deeds of cruelty; and furnishing them with swords, ordered them to cut off the prisoners' heads. As some of these boys were only seven or eight years of age, and hardly able to manage such a weapon, the tortures which these unhappy wretches must have suffered from the incompetency of their executioners, are more easily conceived than described.

It would be easy to extend these accounts to a much greater length. Enough, however, has been said to show the sanguinary character of African superstitions; and to make the reader *feel* that the religious condition of this wretched country is more dark and dreadful than language can describe, or imagination conceive. We

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shall, therefore, conclude this chapter of horrors with a single extract from Lander's description of the people of Badagry. After relating the atrocious butchery of two young females, wives of the chief, and slaves, merely for having expressed themselves freely on some palace proceedings, Lander says—

"The murder of a slave is not considered even in the light of a misdemeanour amongst them, and the frequency of this crime has not only taken away all sense of its enormity, but steeled the breast of the multitude against every compassionate feeling, whilst the king and government encourage savage principles and pastimes by setting them the example. Badagry being a general mart for the sale of slaves to the European merchants, (who are now almost exclusively confined to agents of the Portuguese nation,) it not unfrequently happens that the market is either overstocked with human beings, or no buyers are to be found, in which case the maintenance of the unhappy slaves devolves solely on the government. The expense incurred by this means is oftentimes murmured against by the king, who shortly afterwards causes an examination to be made, when the sickly, as well as the old and infirm, are carefully selected and chained by themselves in one of the factories, (five of which, containing upwards of one thousand slaves of both sexes, were at Badagry during my residence there,) and next day the majority of these wretches are pinioned and conveyed to the banks of a river that runs up the country; where, having arrived, a weight of some sort is appended to their necks, and, being rowed in canoes to the middle of the stream, are flung into the water, and left to perish by the pitiless

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barbarians. Slaves who for other reasons are rejected in the market, undergo the same punishment, or are left to undergo more *lively tortures at the sacrifices*, by which means hundreds of human beings are annually destroyed. In the private fetish-hut of the king of Adoilee, at Badagry, the skull of that monarch's father is preserved in a clay vessel, placed in the earth. Human blood, as well as of birds and beasts, is occasionally sprinkled on it; and when the king goes to war, the same skull is invariably carried with him, with which he frequently converses, and gently rebukes it, if his success does not happen to answer his expectations. There is another fetish-hut at Badagry, the interior of which is positively ornamented with rows of human skulls, and other emblems of mortality, whitened by time, and having a most terrific appearance. At a short distance from this hut stands a fetish-tree, on the branches of which the headless bodies of human beings slaughtered under them are invariably suspended.

"Thieves and other offenders, together with the remnant of unpurchased slaves, who are not drowned along with their companions in misfortunes and misery, are reserved by the barbarians to be sacrificed to their gods; which horrid ceremony takes place at least once a month. Prisoners taken in war are also immolated to appease the manes of the soldiers of Adoilee, slain in battle; and of all atrocities the manner in which these wretches are slaughtered is the most barbarous. Each criminal being conducted to a fetish-tree, a flask of rum is given him to drink; whilst he is in the act of swallowing which, a fellow steals imperceptibly behind him with a heavy club or bludgeon, and inflicts a violent

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blow on the back of the head with a murderous weapon, and, as it often happens, dashes out his brains, so that the executioner has no occasion to repeat the stroke. The senseless being is then taken to the fetish-hut, and a calabash or gourd having been previously got ready, the head is severed from the trunk with an axe, and the smoking blood gurgles into it. Whilst this is in hand, other wretches, furnished with knives, cut and mangle the body, in order to extract the heart entire from the breast; which being done, although it be yet warm and quivering with life, it is presented to the king first, and afterwards to his wives and generals, who always attend at the celebration of these sacrifices; and his majesty and suite making an incision in it with their teeth, and partaking of the foamy blood, which is likewise offered, the heart is exhibited to the surrounding multitude. The bleeding heart, after being bitten by the king and his principal wives and headmen, is affixed to the head of a tall spear, and with the calabash of blood and headless body, paraded through the town, and followed by hundreds of spearmen and a dense crowd of people. Whoever may express an inclination to bite the heart or drink the blood, has it immediately presented to him for that purpose, the multitude dancing and singing. What remains of the heart is flung to the dogs, and the body, cut in pieces, is stuck on the fetish-tree, where it is left till wholly devoured by birds of prey. Besides these butcheries, they make a grand sacrifice once a year under their sacred fetish-tree, growing in a wood a few miles from the city. These are offered to their malevolent demon or spirit of evil, at whose shrine hundreds of human beings are annually immolated, their corpses

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undergoing the same horrid process as that which has already been described, only in this instance they are not removed from the spot, but quartered and hung on the gigantic branches of the venerable tree, and the skulls of the victims suffered to bleach in the sun round the trunk of it. By accident, I had an opportunity of seeing this much-talked-of tree, a day or two only after the celebration of one of the grand yearly sacrifices, and it was the most ghastly and appalling object which I had ever beheld. We had travelled about seven miles from Badagry when the so-much-dreaded fetish-tree suddenly burst upon our sight, its enormous branches literally covered with fragments of human bodies, and its majestic trunk surrounded by irregular heaps of hideous skulls, which had been suffered to accumulate for many years previously. Thousands of vultures, which had been scared away by our unwelcome intrusion, were yet hovering round and over their disgusting food, and now and then pouncing fearless upon a half-devoured arm or leg. I stood as if fascinated to the spot by the influence of a torpedo, and stupidly gazed on the ghastly spectacle before me,—the huge branches of the fetish-tree groaning beneath their burden of human flesh and bones, and sluggishly waving in consequence of the hasty retreat of the birds of prey—the intense and almost insufferable heat of a vertical sun—the intolerable odour of the corrupt corpses—the heaps of human heads, many of them apparently staring at me from hollows which had once sparkled with living eyes—the awful stillness and solitude of the place, disturbed only by the sighing of the unconscious wind through the sombre foliage, or at intervals by the frightful scream-

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ing of voracious vultures as they flapped their sable wings almost in my face—all tended to overpower me; my heart sickened within my bosom, a dimness came over my eyes, my legs refused to support me, and, turning my head, I fell senseless into the arms of Jowdie, my faithful slave."

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CHAPTER VIII.

ORDEAL BY POISON — MODE OF ADMINISTERING — OCCASIONS ON WHICH TAKEN—LANDER DRINKING FETISH—WITCHCRAFT—SUSPICION OF MURDER—CRUELTIES—OPINIONS OF NATIVES RESPECTING FETISH DRINK—EXTENT OF PRACTICE—PURRAH—GOLBERRY'S ACCOUNT—LAING'S ACCOUNT—WINTERBOTTOM'S ACCOUNT—MUMBO JUMBO—REFLECTIONS—PRIESTS—NUMBERS—CHARACTER—CLASSES—PRIESTESSES—DRESS OF PRIESTS—MODE OF INITIATION—INFLUENCE—MEANS OF MAINTAINING IT—REVENUE—SUMMARY.

THIS chapter will complete that view of the moral social, and religious condition of Africa, which these pages are designed to exhibit. It only remains for us to notice the horrid custom of trying criminal cases by the deadly ordeal of fetish-drink or poison; that mysterious institution called *purrah;* and, lastly, the fetishmen or priests, by whom, as a profession, the superstitions of Africa are upheld.

SECTION I.

1. THE ordeal by poison is practised among all the pagan nations of Africa. The poison consists of the infusion of the bark of a certain tree growing nearly all over the country, and called by various names in different parts. So deadly is the nature of this tree, that on

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one occasion Major Gray lost four horses and six sheep, in consequence of their having eaten of its leaves. In some places the fetish-drink is made from a nut, which is equally poisonous and destructive.

2. The mode of administering the poison is not in all cases the same. Mostly, having been drunk, it is allowed to take its natural course. Sooner or later it produces nausea, vomiting, and pain in the stomach and abdomen, and not unfrequently terminates in death. In this case, the accused is considered to have been guilty. But should he recover, either in consequence of the weakness of the dose, (sometimes arising from a large bribe to the fetishman,) or great strength of constitution and timely antidotes, he is declared innocent. In some cases, however, the bark itself (where it is used) is eaten, followed by an emetic. This is the practice in Dahomy, of which Hutton gives the following account. "If a person," he says, "is suspected of theft or any criminal act, recourse is had to administering *doom*. Early in the evening preceding the day of trial, the accused person goes to bed. The next morning, at five o'clock, he washes himself, and chews about one-eighth of an ounce of the bark called *doom*. As soon as he has chewed the bark, a calabash of fresh water is brought, which he drinks, and also one or two more calabashes of water in like manner; when if he vomits what he has taken, he is pronounced innocent. But if the bark remain on the stomach after drinking three or four calabashes of water, then (to use the words of the person who explained this custom to me) the 'palaver kitches him.' The accused is thereon pronounced guilty, when some human dung is put into his mouth, which causes

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him to vomit immediately, and he is then liable to whatever punishment the chiefs decide upon inflicting, whether he be really guilty or innocent."

3. This barbarous method of trial is had recourse to on almost all occasions. A person needs only to be suspected of crime, in order to be required to submit to this dreadful ordeal. The reader cannot fail to be interested in an affecting illustration of this in the painful and, as it well nigh proved, fatal experience of the enterprising Lander. It is given in his own words. Describing the superstitions of the people, he says, "There is another fetish-hut in Badagry, the interior of which is positively ornamented with rows of human skulls and other emblems of mortality, whitened by time, and having a most terrific appearance. In this pagan sanctuary all suspected persons go through the ordeal of bitter (poisonous) water, in order to ascertain their guilt or innocence.

"I did not think, as I strolled one day to the spot, and scrutinised the exterior of the fetish-hut, that I myself was so shortly to enter its doors, and be tried with bitter water by its inexorable priests, in order to prove whether I was a good or a bad man—a friend or foe to the nation.

"But the calumnies of the Portuguese had begun to display their effects very strikingly. One morning as I was taking my solitary breakfast of palm oil and Indian corn, I was startled by a message from the king, commanding me to repair at noontide to the fetish-hut, and be examined by the priests, who would be there assembled, to answer certain charges that were brought against me. I was well aware in what manner my trial

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was to be conducted, and I could not forbear exclaiming to myself as I mused on the dreadful fate which I imagined awaited me. 'Well, then, here will be an end to my wanderings and my life: yet, having escaped so many dangers, and encountered such grievous afflictions, it is hard after all to cast off the fordell of existence thus prematurely; it is hard, when almost within hearing of my countrymen, that my life should be destroyed, that my skull should be preserved as a trophy by heartless savages, and my body be devoured by ravens and other birds of prey.' As I was musing this saddening and perhaps unmanly soliloquy, tears rushed involuntarily into my eyes; but, hastily wiping them off, I employed the little time allotted me in making peace with heaven, so that when the fellows came to conduct me to the fetish-hut I was calm and collected, and prepared to undergo the severest punishment which man could inflict upon me.

"The news of the white man's arrest and approaching trial spread like wildfire through the town, and the inhabitants assembling from all parts armed with axes, spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, followed the procession to the dismal spot. On entering the hut, I beheld a number of priests and elders of the people, seated in a circle, who desired me to stand in the midst of them. When I had complied with this request, one of the priests arose, and presenting me with a bowl containing about a quart of a clear liquid scarcely distinguishable from water, cried out in a loud voice and with much emphasis, 'You are accused, white man, of designs against our king and his government, and are, therefore, desired to drink the contents of this vessel,

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which, if the reports to your prejudice be true, will surely destroy you; whereas, if they be without foundation, you need not fear, Christian; the fetish will do you no injury, our gods will do that which is right.'

"I took the bowl in my trembling hand, and gazed for a moment on the sable countenances of my judges, but not a single look of compassion shone upon any of them; a dead silence prevailed in the gloomy sanctuary of skulls; every eye was instantly fixed upon me, and seeing no possibility of escape, or of evading the piercing glance of the priests and elders, I offered up internally a short prayer to the throne of mercy, and hastily swallowed the fetish, dashing the poison-chalice to the ground. A low murmur ran through the assembly; they all thought I should instantly have expired, or at least have discovered symptoms of severe agony; but, detecting no such tokens, they arose simultaneously and made way for me to leave the hut. On getting into the open air, I found my poor slaves in tears: they had come, they said, to catch a last glimpse of their master; but when they saw me alive and at liberty they leaped and danced for joy, and prepared a path for me through the dense mass of armed people. These set up an astounding shout at my unexpected appearance, and seemed greatly pleased that I had not fallen a victim to the influence of their fearful fetish. On arriving at my dwelling, I took instant and powerful means to eject the venomous poison from my stomach, and happily succeeded in the attempt."

Witchcraft is one of the most common charges on which fetish-drink is administered; but theft, adultery, and murder, are all tried in the same manner. The

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death of any person frequently involves one or more in suspicion of having poisoned him; and then the only way in which the suspected party can clear himself, is to bring his innocence to the test of this ordeal. The following account, extracted from Browne in relation to the Quojans, may be taken in illustration:—

"When a person dies, and there is any suspicion of violence or sorcery, the corpse is interrogated. On arriving at the place of burial, a friend or relation of the deceased stations himself five or six paces before the bier, and thus addresses him: 'You are now a dead man; you know you are no longer alive and as one of us, and you must answer truth.' He then inquires what made him die, whether he knew of his own death, and whether it was occasioned by witchcraft or poison; for it is universally believed that no person dies without having a previous knowledge of his own death, except it be caused by poison or the more powerful charms of another person. The corpse answers in the affirmative by forcibly impelling the bearers several paces forward by a power which they say they are unable to resist, and in the negative by a rolling motion. They then inquire concerning the murderer, commencing with his own relations, and naming the suspected persons. When the deceased has declared the murderer, he is desired to be certain of the person, and requested to strike the hand which holds the bough. Upon this, the corpse impels the bier forward, and strikes the bough which the person holds in his hand. If the death of the deceased is supposed to have been caused by poison, the accused is allowed to escape to the next town, where he claims the protection of the headman, and asserts his

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innocence, and, in proof of it, desires to drink the red water.

"The accused is then placed upon a high chair; and being stripped of his common apparel, and a quantity of plantain leaves being wrapped round his waist, he eats, in the presence of the whole town, a little rice, and drinks the poisoned water, to the quantity of five or six quarts. If he escapes unhurt, and no evacuation by vomiting, &c. is excited, at the same hour next day he is judged innocent."

4. The cruelties which are sometimes practised, in connexion with this barbarous custom, are of the most atrocious kind. A fearful instance of this is related by the church missionary, Wenzel, who states, "that a canoe having been upset with a party to whom it had been lent by a carpenter, who owned and built it, the people instantly concluded that the man and his wife had bewitched it. They were caught in the night, and compelled to drink the red water. The poor old man, being sixty years of age, died on the spot where he was caught. When dying, the people knocked him on the head with the pot which held the red water, and thrusting him violently into the ground, cast stones upon his mangled body. The old woman, having taken the red water, was carried to a neighbouring town, where the people, seeing her struggling with death, became enraged, took sticks and stones, and beat and bruised her head and body almost to pieces; and when they had made a hole, cast her naked into it, knocking the remainder of the body with stones and their own feet, until her flesh and bones were mingled with the soil."

The amount of human life which is thus sacrificed is

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very great, and shows at how low a rate it is valued in this land of darkness and of death. At Idda, Mr. Oldfield saw a procession of the wives of the king's son, just deceased, who were proceeding to establish their innocence of his death by drinking poison, and he says, that "out of sixty of these poor infatuated wretches, thirty-one died."

5. The opinions which the people entertain, in connexion with this deadly superstition, are thus described by Mr. Beecham:—"It is supposed that the fetish goes down with the water into the man's stomach, and looks about in his heart for the guilt; and, if he discovers the prisoner to be innocent, he comes back with the draught which is vomited up again; but that, if he finds the alleged guilt, he remains in the stomach with the water, to inflict upon the culprit the merited punishment."

6. This will account for the fearful extent to which the horrid custom prevails, and the eagerness with which the people adopt it. "To administer *adum*, so this ordeal is designated in Ashanti, is the most valued mode of trial. Witnesses may be called to substantiate the charge; but this is regarded as a tedious mode of proceeding. It is deemed better to make the prisoner drink *adum* at once, because then the fetish himself goes into the man, and is sure find out the truth."

SECTION II.

THE *purrah* is an institution partly religious and partly civil, or perhaps, more correctly, one which is

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invested with all the terrors of superstition, for the sake of the accomplishment of purely political purposes. It is an engine of vast power, inspiring the mind of the African with the greatest dread, and holding him in complete subjection to its mysterious authority. The principal accounts we have of it relate to its existence amongst the Susus, the Timanees, and the Bulloms; but there is reason to believe that similar confederacies are established, under various forms, among other tribes of Western Africa.

The nature, origin, and proceedings of the Purrah are involved in considerable obscurity. M. Golberry has described it as it exists among the Susus; Major Laing as it exists among the Timanees; and Dr. Winterbottom as it exists among the Bulloms. The reader will obtain the most distinct conception of it by the perusal of these separate accounts, which, be it observed, in their leading features, are amply confirmed by concurring testimonies. Among these is the testimony of those of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who have laboured and travelled amongst these nations.

1. M. Golberry says, "Between the river of Sierra Leone and Cape Monte, there are five colonies of Susus, who have formed among themselves a federal republic. Each colony has its particular magistrates, and its local government, but they are all subjected to an institution, which these negroes call purrah. Each of the five colonies has its particular purrah, and these five united, form the grand and sovereign one which commands the five colonies.

"In order to be admitted into the confederacy of the

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purrah of the canton, it is necessary to be thirty years of age, and no person can be a member of the grand purrah under fifty; the eldest member of each purrah of a canton is selected to form those of the grand or sovereign purrah. No candidate is admitted to the trials of a cantonal purrah but under the responsibility of all his friends who are already members, and who swear his death if he flinch during the ceremony, or if he betray, after being admitted, the mysteries and secrets of the confederacy. In each canton comprised in the institution of the purrah, there is a sacred wood, to which they conduct the candidate; he is obliged to inhabit a place which is appointed for him; he finds himself, during some months, in a small house, where men with masks supply him with food; he dares not speak, nor absent himself from the place which is assigned him; and if he attempts to penetrate the forest, with which he is surrounded, he is immediately struck dead.

"After some months of preparation, the candidate is admitted to the trials, the last of which are, it is said, dreadful—all the elements are employed to ascertain his resolution and his courage. It is even asserted, that chained lions and leopards are employed in these mysteries—that while they are performing, the sacred woods resound with mournful howlings—that during the night, immense fires may be seen, which seem to threaten a general conflagration—that at other times, flames spread along all the sides of these mysterious woods—that all unhallowed persons, whom curiosity might tempt to enter them, are sacrificed without mercy—and that some indiscreet people, who have ven-

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tured it, have disappeared, without its being known in what manner. When the candidate has undergone all the trials, he is admitted to the initiation, having first sworn that he will preserve all its secrets, and that he will execute, without hesitation, the orders of the purrah of his tribe, and all the decrees of the sovereign purrah. If a member of this confederacy betrays it, or becomes refractory, he is devoted to death, and this sentence is often executed in the bosom of his family. At a time when the unfortunate delinquent least expects it, a warrior appears, disguised, masked, and armed; he exclaims, 'The grand purrah sends thee death.' At these words every one falls back; no one dares offer the least opposition, and the victim is sacrificed.

"The tribunal of each purrah of a tribe is composed of twenty-five members, and from each of these individual tribunals are drawn five persons, who form the grand purrah, or supreme tribunal of the general confederacy,—hence, this sovereign one is composed also of twenty-five members, who elect their chief from among themselves. The particular purrah of a tribe takes cognisance of all crimes within its district, judges them, and executes its sentences. It also appeases the quarrels and heals the dissensions which may exist between powerful families. The sovereign purrah never assembles but upon extraordinary occasions. It judges those who betray the mysteries and secrets of their order, and who oppose its decrees; it also, in general, ends those wars which sometimes break out between two tribes, subjected to this confederacy.

"When two tribes at war, after some months of mutual hostility, and when they have injured each other

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materially, are both desirous of peace, they secretly solicit the sovereign purrah to interfere, and terminate their warfare. The grand purrah then assembles in a neutral canton; as soon as it is completely formed, it intimates to the belligerent tribes, that they can no longer allow men, who ought to live as brothers and friends and as good neighbours, to make war, destroy, pillage, and burn each others' lands—that it is time to put an end to these excesses—that the sovereign purrah will attend to the causes of this war—that it desires it shall be terminated; and, in consequence, a suspension of hostilities is immediately commanded. It is a fundamental rule of this institution, that from the moment the sovereign purrah is assembled, to ordain a cessation of war, and till that cessation is finally pronounced, every warrior of the two belligerent tribes is prohibited from spilling a drop of blood, and that under pain of death—hence a suspension of hostilities is sure to be scrupulously observed.

"The supreme tribunal remains assembled for the space of one month, during which time they make the necessary inquiries, to ascertain which tribe was guilty of aggression. During the same period, they convoke such a number of the warriors of the confederacy as will be necessary to execute the sentence they may pass.

"Finally, every information being collected, they judge and condemn the guilty tribe to a pillage of four days. The warriors destined to execute this decree, are all taken from the neutral cantons, and depart at midnight from the place where the sovereign purrah was assembled. They are all disguised, having their faces covered with hideous masks, and are armed with

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lighted torches and daggers. Dividing into detachments of forty, fifty, and sixty persons, they arrive, unexpected, before the dawn of the day, in the territory which they are about to pillage, and proclaim, with a dreadful voice, the decree of the sovereign tribunal. At their approach, men, women, and children, and even those who bend beneath the weight of years, flee before them, and immure themselves in their houses. Should any one be met in the fields, roads, or streets, they are either murdered or made captives; and, in either case, they are never heard of afterwards. The produce of the pillage is divided into two parts, the one is given to the tribe who were injured and insulted, and the other to the sovereign purrah, who divide it with the warriors employed in the execution of their decree,—this is the recompence for their zeal, obedience, and fidelity.

"When any family among the tribes submitted to the purrah, becomes too powerful or too formidable, the sovereign purrah generally condemns them to a sudden pillage, which is executed by night, and always by warriors, disguised and masked. If the chiefs of the family considered as dangerous should resist, they are either put to death or carried away, and led into the secret recesses of their sacred and solitary forests, where the purrah judges them for rebellion, when they almost always disappear for ever.

"Such is, in part, this extraordinary institution. It is known to exist—the effects of its power are felt—it is dreaded; but the obscurity of its deliberations and its resolves is impenetrable, and a delinquent knows not he is condemned till he falls beneath the stroke of

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death. The terror and the dread with which this confederacy inspires the people, in the countries where it is established, and even in the neighbouring ones, is beyond all conception. The negroes of the Bay of Sierra Leone speak of it with fear and reserve; they imagine all the members of this confederacy are sorcerers—that they have an intercourse with the devil—that they can exact whatever they choose, without its being possible to do them any harm. The purrah, likewise, propagates these prejudices, by means of which they exercise an authority which no one dares to resist, but which, however, they seldom abuse, but make it a means to render them respected, both at home and abroad.

"It is supposed that the number of warriors initiated and belonging to the purrah, amounts to more than six thousand; and yet the laws, the secrets, and the mysteries of this association are scrupulously kept and maintained by these confederates, who understand and know each other by certain words and signs."

2. Major Laing thus describes this institution as existing among the Timanees. "Particular pieces of ground (generally eminences covered with thick wood) are consecrated to the grigris, and held sacred. I have always seen these enclosures approached with reverential awe, and have been informed, that the smallest encroachment on them would subject the aggressor to the most awful punishment from the purrah—an institution which is much dreaded by the whole of this unhappy country; their power supersedes even that of the headmen of the districts, and their deeds of secrecy and darkness are as little called in question or inquired

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into as those of the inquisition were in Europe in former years.

"I have endeavoured, in vain, to trace the origin of this extraordinary association, and have reason to suppose that it is now unknown to the generality of the Timanees, and may possibly even be so to the purrah themselves, in a country where no traditionary records are extant, either in writing or in song.

"The head quarters of the purrah are in enclosures, situated in the woods. These are never deserted by them entirely, and any man not a purrahman approaching them, is instantly apprehended, and rarely heard of again. The few who have reappeared, after several years of secretion, have always become intermediately purrahmen themselves. Those who do not again appear, are supposed to be carried away to distant countries and sold.

"The purrahs do not always confine themselves to those who approach their enclosures, but frequently carry off single travellers, and occasionally whole parties, who are imprudent enough to pass from town to town in certain districts, without applying for an escort from the body to ensure safety. One purrahman is sufficient; who, while leading the party, blows a small reed whistle, suspended from his neck. The purrah signify their vicinity by howling and screaming in the woods; but, although the sounds may denote their close neighbourhood, no individual is seen.

"The purrahs frequently make irruptions into towns in the night-time, and plunder whatever they can lay their hands upon—goats, fowls, clothes, provision, men, women, and children. On such occasions, the inhabi-

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tants remain shut up in their houses until long after the plunderers' retreat. During the time that I was in the interior," says Major Laing, "I always had a sentry over my quarters at night for the protection of my baggage. One night, the town in which we slept was visited by the purrah, and my sentinel remained firm at his post. When the purrah came up, an attack was made upon him, but the application of the bayonet kept them at a distance until I made my appearance; when the purrah, uncertain of their power over a white man, scampered off. They were mostly naked and unarmed, but had a few knives.

"The outward distinguishing marks of the purrah are two parallel tatooed lines round the middle of the body, inclining upwards in front towards the breast, and meeting in the pit of the stomach. There are various gradations of rank among them, but I could never ascertain their respective offices.

"Purrahmen sometimes quit their retirement, and associate with the town's-people, following employments of various kinds; but no chief or headman dare bring a palaver against a purrahman, for fear of a retaliative visit from the whole body.

"At stated periods they hold assemblies, and on these occasions the country is in the greatest state of confusion and alarm. No proclamation is publicly made, but a notice from the chief or headman of the purrah, communicated by signs hung up in different places, with the meaning of which they are acquainted, is a summons to them to meet on an appointed day at a certain rendezvous.

"Palavers of great weight, such as disputes between

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rival towns, or offences of such magnitude as to call for capital punishments, the headmen of towns not having the lives of their subjects or dependents in keeping, come under the notice of the purrah. The purrah, therefore, may be said to possess the general government of the conntry; and, from the nature of their power, and the purposes to which it is applied, they would probably be found a most serious obstacle to its civilisation."

3. The following is Dr. Winterbottom's account of this institution, as it exists amongst the Bulloms of the Sherbro. "It is partly of a religious, but chiefly of a political nature. It resembles freemasonry in excluding females, and in obliging every member by a solemn oath—which, I believe, is seldom violated—not to divulge the sacred mysteries, and to yield a prompt and implicit obedience to every order of their superiors. Boys of seven or eight years of age are admitted, or rather serve a novitiate until they arrive at a proper age,—for it is difficult to procure exact information, or even somewhat dangerous to make inquiries. Every person, on entering, lays aside his former name, and assumes a new one —to call him by his own name would produce a dispute. They have a superior or head purrahman, assisted by a grand council, whose commands are received with the most profound submission, both by subordinate councils and by individuals. Their meetings are held in the most retired spots, amid the gloom of night, and carried on with inquisitorial secrecy. When the purrah come into a town, which is always at night, it is accompanied with the most dreadful howlings, screams, and other horrid noises. The inhabitants, who are not members of the society, are obliged to secure themselves within

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doors. Should any one be discovered without, or attempting to peep at what is going forward, he would inevitably be put to death. To restrain the curiosity of the females, they are required to continue within doors, clapping their hands as long as the purrah remains. Like the secret tribunal which formerly existed in Germany, it takes cognisance of offences, particularly of witchcraft and murder; but, above all, contumacy and disobedience in any of its own members, and punishes the guilty with death in so secret and sudden a manner, that the perpetrators are never known. Indeed, such is the dread created by this institution, that they are never inquired after. It is sometimes employed in putting a stop to wars between neighbouring nations, who are threatened, in case they will not desist from their hostilities, with the vengeance of the purrah, and also in composing family feuds. No one is admitted into this institution until such of his friends as already belong to it, bind themselves by an oath to put him to death should he betray the secrets of the confederacy, or draw back during the progress of his initiation. In every district comprised within the limits of this association, there is a grove set apart for the use of the purrah, to which the candidate is brought, and where he is obliged to remain until fully initiated. Should any, led by indiscreet curiosity, or even by ignorance, attempt to penetrate into this place, he would be sacrificed without the smallest hesitation, and would never more be heard of."

A correspondent of the *Sierra Leone Gazette*, in January, 1824, after quoting this passage from Winterbottom, writes, "During a short trip to the Sherbro, I was enabled to ascertain that the account above given,

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was precisely correct, particularly that part which relates to the unwillingness to speak of the purrah, even by those persons who are not initiated in the mysteries of this terrific order. Though I persisted in my inquiries, I could learn little more than Winterbottom has already described."

4. Mumbo Jumbo, the famous bugbear of Africa, appears, in some places, to be an agent of this confederacy. "This strange minister of justice," is thus described by Mungo Park:—"It is common," he says, "to all Mandingo towns, and much employed by the pagan natives for keeping their women in subjection, and settling such family quarrels as the husband cannot by his own authority. His dress is a sort of masquerade habit, made of the bark of trees, and, when not in use, hung upon a tree at the entrance of the town. Thus disguised, and armed with the rod of public authority, he announces his coming, whenever his services are required, by loud and dismal screams in the woods near the town. He begins the pantomine at the approach of night, and, as soon as it is dark, he enters the town, and proceeds to the *bentang*, at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble. It may easily be supposed, that this exhibition is not much relished by the women; for, as the person is disguised and entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects the visit may possibly be to herself, but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned, and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. The unfortunate victim, being thereupon seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amidst the shouts and derision of the whole

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assembly,—and it is remarkable, that the rest of the women are the loudest in their exclamations on this occasion against their unhappy sister. Daylight puts an end to this unmanly revel."

The interposition of Mumbo Jumbo is sought on other occasions besides those of a domestic nature. This will appear from the following account which Major Laing gives of this extraordinary personage amongst the Timanees. The traveller having missed a gun, states, that "the guide insisted on seeing the grigri man (another name for Mumbo); which demand having been acceded to after violent opposition, he made his appearance. His head supported an enormous canopy of skulls, thigh-bones, and feathers; and his plaited hair and beard, twisted like snakes, appeared from beneath. His approach was notified by the tinkling of hawks' bells, and jingling of pieces of iron, which, suspended from his joints, kept time with his motions. He made several circuits round the assembly, and then approaching the middle, demanded the cause of his summons; with which being acquainted, he waved his rod several times in the air, and made his way into the bush, where he remained nearly a quarter of an hour. On his return, he spoke at some length, and concluded by naming the man who had stolen the gun; but was sorry that it could not be recovered immediately, as the thief was by this time half-way to Dahomy with his prize. I gave the grigri man a head of tobacco for his skill; and on my return from the interior, found the gun, which had been recovered from the man in question, waiting my arrival."

The superstitious notions on which this extraordinary

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custom is based, are these. The dress in which the man is attired is regarded as the representative of the great presiding spirit of the place; and the man himself is supposed to be in constant intercourse with him. Hence he assumes to have a knowledge of all delinquencies and offenders, and the people are constrained to venerate his authority.

To a contemplative mind this relation will furnish ample materials for reflection, and enable it to form some faint conception both of the religious and social condition of this unhappy people. Here is a sovereign and irresponsible body banded together by some mysterious bond, known only to the initiated. Their assemblies are held in the secrecy of the forest, and their proceedings covered under the veil of midnight darkness. Appropriating to themselves certain spots, and making the least encroachment upon them a crime, they carry off the unwary traveller who happens to wander within their precincts, to slavery or death. Their power is unlimited; life is in their hands; they "send death," and the assassin conveys their message, seizes on their victim, and executes their decree. With savage warriors at their bidding, they have only to issue the command to pillage and destroy,—and the innocent and defenceless, without any means of redress, become the prey of their cruel tyranny. This unbounded rule they maintain by entrenching themselves behind the terrors and delusions of deeply-rooted superstitions. Such is the purrah; but what must be the state of the people where such institutions have an existence? How dark and abject! how miserable and degraded!

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SECTION III.

By an easy transition,* our attention may now be directed to the fetishmen, or pagan priests of Africa.

1. These are a very numerous body: one at least is to be found in every town, however small. Priestcraft in Africa is the same as all over the world. To adopt the language of an eloquent writer, "Its nature is essentially evil; its object is self-gratification and aggrandisement; the means it uses, the basest frauds, the most shameless delusions, practised on the popular mind, for the acquisition of power; and that power once gained, the most fierce and bloody exercise of it, in order to render it at once awful and perpetual."

2. The character of the priests themselves is as base as their profession may be supposed to render them. They are a compound of avarice, cunning, treachery,

* On the coast of Guinea there is a confederacy of priests similar to that of the purrah, called *belli*. "The youthful candidate," says Martin, in his notice of Western Africa, "for a place in this body, must qualify himself by a long initiation, during which he is withdrawn from all his friends, and lodged in the depth of a sacred forest, where it is said he is kept in a state of entire nudity. Among the tests of his proficiency is the performance of songs and dances of a very extravagant, and often indecent nature; but peculiar knowledge is also supposed to be communicated on various high points; and those who have gone through the course with success, and are called 'the marked of the *belli*,' look upon all the rest of the community as idiots. They not only administer all the concerns of religion, but conduct the judicial proceedings, most of which are made dependant upon some form of ordeal."

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licentiousness, and cruelty. Robertson, speaking of the priests of Awane, says, "they commit almost every species of crime with impunity, and on the most absurd pretences." The same, with very few exceptions, may be affirmed of this race of impostors throughout the whole of Western and Central Africa.

3. In Ashanti, the fetishmen are divided into two distinct classes. One class are attached to the public fetish-houses, or temples, which are generally built at some distance from the town. These question the oracle respecting the future fortune of individuals or the state, and convey its advice. They also pretend to hold converse with the spirits of the departed; and in answer to questions proposed by any member of the family, profess to procure such information in relation to property or domestic circumstances, as may be required. This constitutes a very numerous order. At the house or temple of the principal fetish of the Ashanti country, upwards of fifty superior priests are said to be resident.

The inferior class pursue their various occupations in society, assist in customs and superstitious ceremonies, and are applied to as fortune-tellers or conjurors in Europe, especially in cases of theft. They commonly itinerate from one part of the country to another, remaining six or twelve months at a place, according as their services may be in demand by the inhabitants.

4. The priestly office, however, is not confined to one sex; it is sustained by women, as well as men. "Females," says Robertson, "are sometimes initiated, and frequently become so frantic with the delusion, that they apparently believe its excessive deceptions to be real

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inspirations. Their feelings are worked up to such a state of madness, that they are often far advanced in life, before they cease to follow that restless enthusiasm so injurious to themselves, and destructive to the happiness of others."

5. The dress which in some parts of Africa is assumed by these ministers of superstition is the most ridiculous imaginable, but still not ill suited to operate favourably to their purpose on the minds of their deluded followers. Lander thus describes the attire of a priest whom he saw at Jenna. "The man's person and dress," he says, "together with its whimsical ornaments, were admirably fitted to impose on the credulity and superstition of the inhabitants. On his shoulders he wore a large club, carved at one end with the figure of a man's head. A vast number of strings of cowries were suspended from this weapon, which were intermixed with bells, broken combs, small pieces of wood, with rude imitations of men's faces carved on them, large sea-shells, bits of iron and brass, nut-shells, &c. &c. Perhaps the number of cowries on his person did not fall short of twenty thousand, and the weight of his various ornaments almost pressed him to the ground."

6. There are two methods of introduction to the order of the priesthood in Africa. One is by a kind of special inspiration. The person declares that the fetish has suddenly seized or come upon him, and a series of convulsions and unnatural bodily distortions establishes his claims. The other, and the most common, is a regular initiation. Parents who desire that their children may be instructed in its mys-

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teries, place them with a fetishman, who receives a premium for each. Robertson declares that the most apt children are thus disposed of; and "it is really astonishing," he adds, "how soon these little demons are initiated into the arts by which the people are kept under control. They have generally, too, the cunning to protect their own relatives from those frauds which they practise on all classes of society."

7. The pretensions of the pagan priest of Africa are not less than those assumed by his fraternity in other parts of the world. He knows every thing, and can do every thing. He can predict the future, detect crime, cure disease; and, in a word, effect all manner of good, and inflict all kinds of evil.

With such assumptions, it will easily be believed the influence of the fetishmen over the people is almost unbounded. "It rests," says Mr. Beecham, "upon the universally received principle, that whatever evils afflict men, are produced by supernatural means, and can only be counteracted or removed by supernatural agency; in other words, that evils can only be removed, and desired benefits conferred by the fetishes; and that their friendly interposition must be sought through the medium of their servants or ministers." To this it may farther be added, that their influence is strengthened by the assumption that it is in their power to inflict evil, as well as to take it away. "Many of those," says Robertson, "who profess magic, pretend to be endowed by inspiration with the power of bringing evil upon those who are unwilling to be guided by them." These doctrines, it will be perceived, place the people completely at the mercy of a rapacious priesthood.

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8. The means by which the influence of the fetishmen is maintained, are the most crafty and effective. Their authority extends to the most trifling concerns. In Cape Palmas every individual is restrained from eating some article of common food. Some are prohibited from eating fowls, others ducks, others mutton, &c. There is thus scarcely any moment when the people are not in awe of their spiritual governors, and bound by some injunction which they have imposed upon them. They employ, moreover, the utmost ingenuity and subtility in practising their delusions. When consulted, they usually direct those who apply to them to practise some fetish ceremonies, promising to guide them aright by their supernatural influence. When the deluded wretches are not successful, they are merely advised to try again; should the measures resorted to not terminate in a happy result, they treat the business with the greatest indifference, and adroitly contrive to shift the blame from themselves to the applicant. "It is alleged that he has neglected some necessary condition, or in some way or other offended the fetish; and the fetishman escapes without censure. However greatly the predictions of the fetishman may be falsified by the event, or whatever may be the failure of the measures to which they resort, their own credit is maintained with the people. The case of the fetishman of Gaboon will serve for the purpose of illustration. This individual, who declared himself to be invulnerable, was solicited by a credulous young man to endue him with the same miraculous quality. The request, enforced by a handsome present, was favourably entertained by the fetishman; and the applicant having been

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duly fortified by the performance of the requisite superstitious rites, confidently exposed himself to the fire of a musket. His arm was shattered by the ball; but the fetishman adroitly threw all the blame of the miscarriage upon the wounded dupe. He stated that at the moment when the gun was discharged, it was revealed to him by the fetish that the young man had, on a former occasion, violated one of the fetish regulations. The sufferer was not prepared to maintain that he was faultless, and the people continued to regard the fetishman with undiminished veneration."

Beside these artifices, almost every method likely to answer their object, is used to maintain their influence, and impose upon the people. They exert themselves to obtain all kinds of information; employ agents, for this purpose, in various parts of the country; and, when on their travels, industriously collect the news as they pass along. To this it is to be added, that they act in concert, and communicate to each other the information they respectively collect, and agree upon the line of operation they shall pursue. They have been overheard in laying their plans, and threatening one another for divulging their secrets. Their influence is also greatly upheld by their practising medicine, an art in which they are not utterly destitute of skill, from the knowledge which they possess of the barks, herbs, and plants of the country. This knowledge, however, they artfully attribute, not to their own industry in its acquirement, but to the inspiration of the fetish, by whom it has been imparted to them. In its administration, moreover, it is always associated with certain fetish ceremonies, on the performance of which the cure is

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made equally to depend. By such means their influence is secured, and they are enabled to exercise an iron tyranny over the minds of the people.

9. With such an amount of influence, their revenue may be easily conceived. One half the offerings to the fetish are dedicated to the priest, and it may be safely affirmed, that no single office of superstition is performed for which an ample remuneration is not received; while, in cases almost numberless, and constantly occurring, the most extravagant exactions are imposed upon those who seek their aid. It is said, that the great oracle at Abrah is only accessible to the more opulent classes of society, in consequence of the costly offerings required. The fetishmen are thus one of the most wealthy orders of the community, and this again tends to increase their power and augment their influence.

Such are the fetishmen or priests of Africa, and such their power and influence over the popular mind, and in the maintenance of those cruel and bloody superstitions by which the people are enslaved and destroyed.

10. The reader has now before him, as far as the design and limits of these pages admit, a picture of the social, moral, and religious condition of Africa. It is dark and dreadful as it is possible to conceive. Let him, for a few moments, pause and reflect upon it. Every statement which has been made, let him bear in mind, is corroborated by eye-witnesses, whose names have mostly been quoted. Let him also keep in view the vast extent of the scene of degradation and misery which he is contemplating. Our notices have chiefly related to Western and Central Africa, but they are

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illustrative, in most of their leading points, of the state of the whole of this great continent, bearing on its wide surface no fewer than one hundred and fifty millions of mankind. Let him not, moreover, fail to consider, that these one hundred and fifty millions of human beings are immortal in their destiny—that their condition, as here exhibited, does not simply consist in the endurance of physical suffering and calamity, but in the hateful and soul-destroying corruptions of moral evil—and that, consequently, they are perishing, not only for the life which now is, but for that which is to come. Let him, with these impressions, take the review to which, in a brief summary of what has been advanced, he is now invited.

Africa is under the dominion of the most savage despotism. Even its freemen are, in most cases, little more than the vassals of their rulers,—and, in some, altogether at the disposal of their merciless tyranny. Africa is a land of slaves. Three individuals out of every four are slaves; and, in some places, not more than one in seventy are free. Africa trades, both within its own borders and with foreign nations, in the flesh and blood of its own population, and is hourly bleeding under the inflictions of this most inhuman traffic. Polygamy is universal in Africa. The great monopolise the female portion of the population—the inferior classes are left without any domestic associate—prostitution is legalised by public authority, to meet the exigency which this unjust and wicked monopoly has created—and the blackest crimes, consequent upon such a state of things, are shamelessly committed. The condition of woman in Africa is most abject and degraded. With-

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out a property in herself, at any stage of her existence, she is sold by her parents in marriage to the highest bidder, from henceforth living only for the gratification of her tyrannical and capricious lord, who rules her as his slave, imposing upon her the most menial offices, and, in some instances, deriving, in licentious indolence, his own support from the labour of her hands. In a word, as the social condition of Africa is the lowest and most wretched, so every crime which has polluted other parts of the heathen world, is perpetrated in it. Nor is this picture much relieved by the view which has been taken of African agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

The superstitions of Africa not only sanction and tend to perpetuate this state of things, but add a thousand-fold to the depth of her degradation and the amount of her calamity.

Here Mohammedanism and paganism divide the spoil. Islamism exists in its worst of forms. For the sake of gaining an ascendancy, it associates itself with the superstitions of paganism; and, with the exception of abolishing human sacrifices, so far from reforming any existing evil, it countenances and gives permanency to some of the most horrid features of African society.

The paganism of Africa is of the direst kind—barbarous, without one shade of refinement—low and grovelling, without one elevating and ennobling quality—cruel and blood-thirsty, without one mitigating feature. Excluding the Supreme Creator from the government of his creatures, it boasts a pantheon as numerous as that of the Hindoo, and multiplies the

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objects of superstitious worship and dread, by the addition of the disembodied spirit of almost every human being who departs this present life. All these, it supposes to be influenced by amulets and ceremonies; and on these, more than on the gods themselves, the faith and confidence of the negro are reposed. Thus God himself is put as far as possible from his thoughts. The people, moreover, believing their imaginary deities to delight in blood, and, most of all, in the blood of human victims, and conceiving, too, of the future state as being similar in its character to the present, thousands and tens of thousands of men and women are annually slain to propitiate their imaginary deities, and to attend and distinguish their departed friends in the other world. Superstition, still further, being the great governing principle of the negro, all criminal cases are tried by a poisonous ordeal, in the operation of which the gods themselves are supposed to decide the case. Through this, the innocent and the guilty, as it may happen, indiscriminately perish, and multitudes are cut off in the midst of their days; while malice and revenge have the foulest opportunity for the accomplishment of their work. Besides this, institutions of a semi-religious character, the most secret in their proceedings and the most tyrannical in their rule, hold the people in subjection by their superstitious arts, while a crafty priesthood, by the most ingenious subtleties, the most profound dissimulation, and the most deeply-laid schemes, rendered effective by mutual concert and co-operation amongst themselves, sustain the whole. Such then is the moral, social, and religious condition of Africa.

What a condition! Were it not that it is the state

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of men who are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh —that the depravity which it exhibits, is but the more ample developement of that same sinfulness, the seeds of which are to be found in our own bosoms—that we ourselves, as a nation, during years that are past, in the prosecution of the accursed slave-trade, have had our guilty share in inflicting no inconsiderable portion of that misery which it reveals—and that, above all, we have in our hands a remedy suited to the cure of those evils which the state of Africa comprehends, and for the application of which we are also responsible—were it not for these things, we should turn away from the review of a condition of human nature so abject, with disgustful feelings, or only to weep that man should so have fallen from his original state of purity and blessedness. But these things are so; and the condition of Africa must be contemplated by us, and we must feel for its teeming millions as men of a kindred nature, sharing in the same common depravity,—and whose hands, in days gone by, were red with the blood of her miserable captives. Nor must we forget, that having in our possession that gospel but for which our own condition might be as dark and desolate, as miserable and degraded as theirs, we are laid under obligations, the most weighty and imperative, to communicate it to them—obligations arising from the claims of justice and of mercy, as well as from the command of Him who has bid us "go into all the world and preach it to every creature."

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CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIANITY THE ONLY SUFFICIENT REMEDY FOR AFRICA—SCIENCE, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, ETC., IMPORTANT AUXILIARIES — SIR T. F. BUXTON'S REMEDIAL PLANS—AFRICAN CIVILISATION SOCIETY—NIGER EXPEDITION—MR. BURKE—COINCIDENCE OF OPINION —COMMERCE — COLONISATION — EDUCATION OF NATIVES IN THIS COUNTRY—EFFORTS OF A MIXED CHARACTER—SINFUL PASSIONS, SOURCE OF SOCIAL EVILS OF AFRICA—THESE DEEPLY-ROOTED IN RELIGIOUS SOIL OF COUNTRY—REMARKS OF REV. JOHN BEECHAM.

THE gospel of Jesus Christ supplies the only sufficient remedy for Africa, but this is all sufficient. To this, therefore, as the hope of this unhappy country, it is now our pleasing duty to invite the attention of the reader.

It is to be observed, that the misery of Africa does not consist in any one item of wretchedness, but in a complication of evils deeply rooted in its social constitution. Even the slave-trade, with all its accumulated horrors, is only one among the many ills with which it is afflicted; nothing less forcible than the language of inspiration is adequate to describe its condition. "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint; from the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores." The only sufficient method of cure, therefore, must be one which is competent to reach the very seat

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of all moral disorder. What besides Christianity is equal to this?

Science, agriculture, commerce, and all kindred agencies, may act the part of auxiliaries in the work of Africa's renovation—a higher office is not their province; the work itself, Christianity alone can effectually accomplish. Important auxiliaries they have been, and are; and, accompanying the gospel in its enterprise of mercy, they will each be crowned with a due share of the honour of raising to the dignity of Christian civilisation, the down-trodden sons and daughters of Nigritia.

We owe much to those noble-spirited men, who, braving all dangers, have gone forth to explore this vast continent; and though few of them have attained the accomplishment of their wishes, yet from the enterprising Mungo Park, down to the successful Landers, they have each effected much, and their united labours contribute, in no small measure, to the auspicious circumstances (auspicious, compared with those of former times) under which the evangelisation of Africa is now to be attempted. Every succeeding traveller has filled some small space in the extensive blank which the map of this division of the globe once exhibited, and has not only increased our knowledge of its natural productions, but enlarged our acquaintance with the habits, manners, and customs of the vast portion of the human family inhabiting it. Without the information thus supplied, the introduction of the gospel to this part of the world would be a hundred-fold more difficult than it is.

For similar reasons, not many months since, we rejoiced in the developement of Sir Fowell Buxton's

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remedial plans, and hailed with satisfaction the formation of the "the society for the extinction of the slave-trade, and the civilisation of Africa." To plead the cause of Africa and protect its interest—to seek to excite public sympathy on its behalf, and to stimulate every effort designed and calculated to promote its good—to acquire and diffuse information in relation to this vast continent and its teeming population—to assist the operations of agriculture and commerce, without itself engaging either in the one or the other—to aid in reducing the principal languages of Western and Central Africa to writing, and to introduce medical science—these were some of the objects which this institution avowed. Such objects are not of small consequence; an association based on right principles for the accomplishment of these ends, had it been permitted to continue its labours, could hardly have failed to have effected the most beneficial results.

With kindred feelings, although mingled with those of bitter disappointment, we look back upon the "Niger expedition" undertaken by government, at the instigation of this society. The results of that expedition stand forth to the world, as a striking demonstration of the weakness of the mightiest and best-intentioned of human projects; nor is it possible to consider, without the deepest sorrow, how the gallant crews of the vessels which composed it, were swept away by the pestilential malaria, which, to Europeans, broods like an angel of death, over the shores and rivers of unhappy Africa. But, although the "Niger expedition" has failed in effecting its great designs, it is most erroneous and uncandid to say that it has accomplished nothing. It

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has, notwithstanding all its calamities—and these have been great indeed—done much. "It has resulted in the enlargement of our acquaintance with certain great facilities for exploring the most hidden recesses of Central Africa; for example, the mild and peaceable character of the population, their readiness to entertain *native* teachers, the comparative ease with which their languages may be acquired, their industrious and commercial habits, and, generally speaking, their good faith in the observance of pecuniary and other engagements. Besides all this, anti-slave-trade conventions have been publicly ratified by the heads of two of the most important tribes on the banks of the Niger."

Sincerely and cheerfully, however, as these acknowledgments are made, it must still be borne in mind, that all such efforts are only auxiliary in their character, and that the only influence which can heal the maladies of Africa, and raise her from the dust in which she is prostrated, is CHRISTIANITY.

"The gospel ever has been and ever must be, the grand civiliser of mankind." These are the words of Sir Fowell Buxton, and happily for the world, this conviction has of late years, taken a strong hold of the public mind. One of the earliest acknowledgments it received among statesmen, was in relation to the ill-fated children of Africa. Mr. Burke, in a letter to Dundas on the "civilisation of the negroes in the two hemispheres," says "I confess, I trust more, according to the sound principles of those who have at any time ameliorated the state of mankind, to the effect and influence of religion, than to all the rest of the regulations put together."

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But since the days of this distinguished man, the efficacy of the gospel, as the grand civiliser of the barbarous nations of the earth, has become much more generally acknowledged. The results of Christian missions to the heathen have wrought forcibly on public opinion in this particular. The moral energy of the gospel has been demonstrated, and its power to ameliorate and exalt the condition of the ignorant, the savage, and the vicious, has been proved. This has extorted from all classes, the confession of its sovereign virtue, as the great restorative of the most wretched and degraded of the fallen family of man.

In relation to Africa, the most delightful coincidence of opinion prevails. The "African Civilisation Society," which had Prince Albert for its president; and numbered among its patrons and supporters the most illustrious names on the roll of England's aristocracy, some of the brightest ornaments of the commons' house of parliament, and a large proportion of the noble and philanthropic in every rank of life—this society distinctly and repeatedly avowed it, as its "unanimous opinion, that the only complete cure of all the evils with which Africa is afflicted, is the introduction of Christianity."

In endeavouring to establish this truth, the writer has the felicity of finding ample evidence, on the entire subject, in one single document of the highest authority —the report of the evidence taken before the Aborigines' Committee of the House of Commons—a committee which sat during the sessions of 1833 and 1834.

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SECTION I.

The agencies, independently of Christianity, on which reliance has been placed for the civilisation of barbarous nations, are varied in their character. Commerce—the location of Europeans among the aboriginal inhabitants—the education of natives in this country, with a view to their becoming the instructors of their own countrymen—and efforts of a more mixed kind, including education, arts, and agriculture—these comprise most, if not all the plans of operation, on which a merely worldly philanthropy has reposed its confidence; but these have for the most part, and except in the most limited measure, failed to accomplish their proposed end.

1. Commercial intercourse between a civilised and a barbarous nation, might be expected to result in important benefits to the latter. It might be anticipated that the trading vessel, which leaves the shores of so-called Christian England, manned by, at least nominally, Christian men, and laden with a rich cargo of the fruits of British skill and industry, as it came in sight of some savage land, would be to it not merely the harbinger of civilisation, but itself the means of extensively communicating the blessing. One might say, Surely the natives, struck with admiration of the superior manners and intelligence of the crew of this gallant ship, will become emulous of acquiring for themselves the advantages which they see them to possess: our generous-hearted countrymen, too, will be moved with compassion for the deep degradation of the barbarous people, and

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not content merely to make a mutual interchange of commodities, they will become their instructors in the arts of civilised life—above all, when they witness their cruel and perhaps bloody superstitions, they will not fail to direct them to the practice of a better faith, and teach them some of the first elements of that holy religion, the name of which they assume! But, alas for human nature, how speedily does the slightest knowledge of what it is, both in the civilised and the savage breast, convince us, that all such bright imaginings are only dreams!

What does the past history of commerce independently of Christianity, testify, but that, with some few exceptions, so far from its having tended to civilise, it has only resulted in the increased degradation and demoralisation of those barbarous nations with whom it has been carried on? Drunkenness, prostitution, infanticide, and disease, under its most revolting forms, together with desolating wars, the most revengeful and cruel, are among the baneful and destructive consequences of European intercourse with savage tribes.

Of this, the evidence before the Aborigines Committee affords ample and affecting proof. The secretaries of the Church, Wesleyan, and London Missionary Societies, each adduced facts, attested by witnesses, who from their residence, had every possible means of affording correct information, and whose veracity is unquestionable; showing that commercial intercourse has hitherto had an injurious, rather than a beneficial influence on barbarous tribes. On this account, the martyred missionary, Williams, declared, that, "in attempting to introduce Christianity among a people,

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he would rather by far go to an island where they had never seen an European, than go to a place where they had had intercourse with Europeans." "I had rather," he emphatically added, "ten times rather, meet them in their savage state, than after they have had intercourse with Europeans."*

To this, it may be remarked yet farther, that the condition of the native population on the coast of Western Africa, at this very hour, abundantly testifies to the inefficiency of mere commerce as a means of civilisation. Our merchant ships have now for many years been prosecuting their commercial operations from one extremity of that coast to the other: and yet the moral and religious debasement of the people is as great here, if not greater, than in any part of the interior. Much of this may unquestionably be traced to the influence of the slave-trade; but even where the slave-trade has been abolished, and only legitimate commerce has been engaged in, the utmost demoralisation prevails. The Rev. John Beecham, in his evidence before the West African Committee, adduced the case of Bonny as an illustration of this fact, where, he says, "I apprehend that the natives are in as degraded and barbarous a state, after many years of commercial intercourse with this country, as the natives in any part of the world." Facts abundantly justify this opinion. "King Pepple, wishing to commemorate the death of his father, set off with his chiefs, to the number of thirty or forty, for the interior. They succeeded in taking six victims—three men, one woman, a boy, and a girl, with

* Evidence on the Aborigines, pages 1—55.

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whom they returned to Bonny. At daylight the next morning, the poor creatures where sacrificed, King Pepple killing the first, by cutting off his head. At ten the next morning, the six heads were ranged opposite the *juju-house*; and on the evening of the following day, the bodies were cooked and devoured by King Pepple and all his chiefs. . . . The bones were scraped, and the heads dried, and placed on high, as ornaments of the *juju-house;* yet our legitimate commerce to this place has been gradually growing to a great height for the last thirty years, and an English captain stood looking calmly on."*

The present condition of the Krumen affords yet further confirmation of the principle, that commerce alone will not enlighten and elevate a heathen people. If commerce exerts its influence over any class of men in Africa, it is unquestionably over them. But what has it done for them? It has inspired them with a love of gain, for which they are proverbial; it has called forth an amount of activity and energy which no other tribe of natives discover. But has it cured them of polygamy and its attendant evils? Has it elevated the character of woman amongst them? Has it taught them to be honest, and not to pilfer the property of another? In a word, has it one whit improved their moral and social condition? Let the account of Laird and Oldfield answer these inquiries. They state, that "the great object of the Kruman is to get as many wives as will support him in idleness in his own country. The instant, therefore, that he has earned

* Letter to the Bishop of London by the Rev. J. M. Trew.

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and *stolen* money enough to purchase one, he sets out to his own country, and buys one, repeating the process till he has obtained the needful number."

By such facts as these, we are conducted to the conclusion, that the operations of commerce alone have hitherto proved ineffectual as a means of civilising the heathen.

2. Nor do the facts of the case allow us to adopt a more favourable opinion in regard to the settlement of Europeans among the aboriginal inhabitants. Perhaps never more than one purely benevolent attempt was made to advance civilisation in this way. This was in connexion with the Wesleyan Society about forty years ago. The case was laid by the secretary of this institution before the Aborigines Committee. He says, "Dr. Cooke, the founder of our missions, was induced to form a plan for the purpose of introducing civilisation among the Fulahs of Western Africa. A number of well-disposed artisans of various descriptions were engaged to go and settle among the Fulahs; and it was calculated that, after some progress had been made in civilisation, missionaries might then be sent to preach the gospel to those whom civilisation should have thus prepared. However, the undertaking failed entirely; and it failed for this very reason, that the agents who were engaged to carry the scheme into execution did not find sufficient motives to induce them to persevere. They reached Sierra Leone, and there their courage failed them. The motives which had influenced them to embark in the undertaking, were not powerful enough to impel them to advance into the interior of the country, and settle among the Fulahs for the purpose of

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merely civilising them." For similar reasons, any effort of this kind whatever would in all probability prove equally abortive.

But Europeans, influenced by the prospect of their own personal aggrandisement, have located themselves among the aboriginal inhabitants of heathen countries. What has been the result? Without entering into the merits of European colonisation in general, which, it may be safely affirmed—in the foulness of its iniquities, the injustice of its oppressions, and the bloody cruelty of its systematic atrocities—equals all that can be related of human depravity in connexion with any other subject; without entering into this question generally, we may glance at that view of the effects of European intercourse upon barbarous tribes, which the evidence before the Aborigines Committee presents. An extract from the 20th page of the minutes of that evidence, published by the missionary secretaries examined by this committee, is itself a volume. In regard to the pernicious influence of the immoral conduct of Europeans upon the natives, it is said, "the evidence given under this head is of so very painful a nature as to be inadmissable in a volume intended for general perusal."

The concluding portion of the examination of D. Coates, Esq., and the Rev. Messrs. Beecham and Ellis, will show the nature of their evidence. The emphatic answers which they here return, are, be it remembered, abundantly justified by facts previously stated. For these the reader is referred to the volume which contains their evidence.

"4329. To Mr. Coates.—Is it your opinion that Europeans coming into contact with native inhabitants

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of our settlements, tends (with the exception of cases in which missions are established) to deteriorate the morals of the natives—to introduce European vices—to spread among them new and dangerous diseases—to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits—to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction—to the seduction of native females—to the decrease of the native population—and to prevent the spread of civilisation, education, commerce, and Christianity; and that the effect of European intercourse has been, upon the whole, a calamity on heathen and savage nations?" To these inquiries, separately proposed to each of the above-named gentlemen, they returned an unhesitating, emphatic, and unqualified affirmative reply.

In regard to Africa itself, Dr. Madden, in his examination before the West African Committee, pronounced it as his unhesitating opinion that British settlements on the west coast of that continent have not proved instrumental to the promotion of the civilisation of Africa." In confirmation of this opinion he added, "that he found the natives of the Gold Coast settlement still practising all their pagan customs, even in the houses of Europeans close to the fort. While I was there," he says, "what is called a death custom took place, at which all the pagan usages and customs that have been there from time immemorial, were practised just the same as if the place had been a hundred miles from any British settlement."

Indeed, the location of Europeans among the natives of barbarous countries, apart from Christian missionary efforts, must always be ineffectual as a means of *intro-*

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ducing civilisation. Let the savage, under the elevating influence of Christianity, be raised in some measure from his original debasement—let the first elements of civilised life be acquired—and let him occupy in some degree a position of equality with his more civilised neighbours; and then colonisation, conducted on righteous principles, may serve to promote his advancement. But while it may advance a work which has already been begun, it must not be relied on to commence it. The colonists and the aborigines, the latter having undergone no previous transformation, can have but few interests, and no tastes and feelings in common with each other. They may soon, therefore, taking human nature as it is, be expected to come into collision. The natives will look upon their visitors as intruders; and the colonists, seeking their own aggrandisement, and greatly superior in intelligence and means of aggression, will be tempted to take undue advantages. Hostilities will inevitably ensue—the fire-arms of the Europeans assuredly giving them the victory; and the aboriginal inhabitants from henceforth looking upon the colonists as their enemies, will be no longer in a state of mind to receive the blessings of civilisation at their hands, even if the latter should be disposed to communicate them. In many cases, as well known facts too fully prove, it has happened, that, instead of the white man's endeavouring to civilise the original possessors of the soil, he has, according to a theory which deserves to be held in everlasting infamy, raised the horrid and inhuman cry of extermination against them.

3. Our next inquiry relates to the education of

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natives in this country, with a view to their becoming the instructors of their own countrymen. Scarcely any theory, on first glancing at it, appears more plausible than this. Under some circumstances, the results of its practical working may prove satisfactory. Where individuals have first in their own land been led to a thorough renunciation of their heathen practices, and have been constrained from the heart to embrace the religion of Christ,—in this case, their being brought to this country for the purposes of education may be productive of great advantages, and they may return to their native shores with greatly increased qualifications for usefulness. But where this is not the case, and persons are brought from the depths of heathenism to be christianised in our nominally Christian land, but little good is to be anticipated. Of this, the following account, taken from Beecham's "Ashantee and the Gold Coast," affords ample proof.

It appears that, between the years 1751 and 1756, three native boys from Cape Coast, in Western Africa, were sent to England by a missionary of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." They were placed by that society under the care of Mr. Hickman, with whom they are reported to have made considerable progress in useful learning, and in the knowledge of the Christian religion.

One of the youths, of the name of Quaque, was afterwards sent to the university of Oxford, and having completed his education there, he received ordination, and returned to exercise the Christian ministry in his native country. What was the result? He was chaplain of Cape Coast Castle for more than fifty years, but

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does not appear to have been instrumental in turning any of his countrymen to Christianity. How, indeed, should he? for on his death-bed he is said to have given evidence that he had at least as much confidence in the influence of the fetish, as in the power of the religion of Christ.

"The case of this individual," says Mr. Beecham, "furnishes matter for grave consideration on the part of those who are anxious to promote the enlightenment and elevation of Africa. It yields no support to the plausible theory of Christianising pagan lands primarily or chiefly by bringing natives to this country for education, with a view to their becoming the principal instructors of their countrymen; and shows, that if on their return, they are left to their own resources, it is more likely that they will sink down again to the level of their former state, than that they will prove the regenerators of their countrymen."

The truth, indeed, seems to be, that the force of early habits is so strong that no merely educational process in after life can effectually eradicate the tastes and predilections which have been formed. Nothing short of an entire change of heart can afford a security against a return to former practices—that change of heart which is effected by the Holy Spirit in connexion with the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The poetic genius of Mrs. Sigourney has beautifully illustrated this characteristic of human nature in the following touching lines:—

Lady. Why wouldest thou leave me, oh gentle child?
Thy home on the mountain is bleak and wild,

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A straw-roofed cabin with lowly wall;
Mine is a fair and pillared hall,
Where many an image of marble gleams,
And the sunshine of pictures for ever streams.

Boy. Oh green is the turf where my brothers play
Through the long bright hours of the summer day;
They find the red cup moss where they climb,
And they chase the bee o'er the scented thyme,
And the rocks where the heath-flower blooms they know:
Lady, kind lady, oh let me go!

Lady. Content thee, boy, in my bower to dwell,
Here are sweet sounds that thou lovest well—
Flutes on the air in the stilly noon,
Harps which the wandering breezes tune,
And the silvery wood-note of many a bird,
Whose voice was ne'er in thy mountains heard.

Boy. My mother sings at the twilight's fall,
A song of the hills far more sweet than all;
She sings it under our own green tree,
To the babe half-slumbering on her knee:
I dreamt last night of that music low:
Lady, kind lady, oh let me go!

Lady. Thy mother hath gone from her cares to rest,
She hath taken the babe on her quiet breast;
Thou wouldest meet her footsteps, my boy, no more,
Nor hear her song at the cabin door:
Come thou with me to the vineyards nigh,
And we'll pluck the grapes of the richest dye.

Boy. Is my mother gone from her home away?
But I know that my brothers are there at play;
I know they are gathering the foxglove's bell,
And the long fern leaves by the sparkling well,
Or they launch their boats where the blue streams flow:
Lady, kind lady, oh let me go!

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Lady. Fair child thy brothers are wanderers now,
They sport no more on the mountain's brow;
They have left the fern by the spring's green side,
And the streams where the fairy barks were tied;
Be thou at peace in thy brighter lot,
For thy cabin home is a lonely spot.

Boy. Are they gone, all gone from the sunny hill?
But the bird and the blue fly rove o'er it still,
And the red deer bound in their gladness free,
And the heath is bent by the singing bee,
And the waters leap, and the fresh winds blow:
Lady, sweet lady, oh let me go!

4. The results which have attended merely civilising efforts of a more mixed character and on a much larger scale, have been scarcely more gratifying. "Civilisation does not possess attractions, or furnish motives powerful enough to induce savages to forsake their course of life for its sake. Civilised life is too tame to charm the barbarian, and his superstitions are generally found opposed to any change in his accustomed mode of life. The higher motives of the gospel must be brought to bear upon his mind, and he must be made to feel the great and important truths of religion, before he will discover any thing desirable in the quietness and sobriety of civilised life, or will dare to break through his superstitions in order to pursue it. The charm of the superstitions of the heathen would alone, in many instances, be powerful enough to prevent them from forsaking the customs of their ancestors merely for the sake of civilisation." Of this there is abundant evidence.

A few years since, the governor of Upper Canada

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made many attempts to induce the Indians to renounce their wandering life; which, however, entirely failed. The following is the explanation of Peter Jones, a converted chief among the Chippeways, of the reason of the failure. The fact, he said, was simply this—that the offers of the governor had no charms for them; they could see nothing sufficiently attractive in civilised life to induce them to give up their former mode of life for the sake of it. They gave the governor credit for very kind and benevolent intentions; yet, in answer to all applications, while they thanked him for his kind wishes, they uniformly told him that they preferred their mode of living to that followed by Europeans.

This, again, was the case with the Indians who are situated in the neighbourhood of the river St. Clair. The governor made several attempts to induce them to renounce their wandering habits, and devote themselves to civilised pursuits; but they also refused, arguing in the following manner—"Who knows but that the Munedoos (gods) would be angry with us for abandoning our own ways?" and concluded by saying, "We wish our great father, the governor, to be informed that we feel thankful to him for his good intentions towards us, but cannot accept of his kind offer." It is true, that after some time, one of the tribes so far acceded to the governor's proposal as to consent that he should build them some houses. He built a small number for their use, but it was altogether a fruitless experiment. The Indians only occupied them occasionally, as they used their own huts,

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without any reference to the comforts or pursuits of civilised life.*

Another striking proof of the inefficiency of merely educational instruction to civilise barbarous tribes, is furnished by the Mohawk Indians in Upper Canada. The Mohawks are one of the six nations of Indians to whom, at an early period, his majesty granted a large tract of land situated on the banks of the Grand River, the most fertile in Upper Canada, lying in the heart of the province, and surrounded by a white population. Schools have been established among them. The greater part of them were taught to read and write, and they were exhorted to till the soil, and cultivate the arts of life; yet this nation was more drunken, ferocious, and vicious, than any one of the five other heathen nations on the Indian reservation. They were proverbially savage and revengeful; so as often to be the terror of their white neighbours. In no respect, it is affirmed, was the social and civil condition of the Mohawks practically and morally improved above that of the adjacent tribes, by the mere educational and civilising process of forty years.†

These facts, it is conceived, will be considered at once ample and decisive. In the face of such evidence, it is surely impossible to resist the conclusion, that past efforts for the civilisation of barbarous nations, unaccompanied by the influence of Christianity, have for the most part, or except in the most limited measure, failed.

* Evidence before Aborigines Committee, p. 126.
† Ibid. p. 134.

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SECTION II.

WHAT reason can there be to suppose, that similar efforts will be attended with any better success in Africa? Let its moral and social evils be traced to their original source—the base passions of the human heart, unrestrained by any sanctifying influence—and what shall constitute a sufficient remedy for them, short of Christianity? The gospel and the plough may go together and accomplish much; the plough alone will be powerless. The fruitful soil of Africa may become extensively cultivated—and a plurality of wives, and an increasing number of slaves, tasked to severer labour, be employed in the work. Commerce, conducted on Christian principles, and following in the wake of the gospel, may strew blessings all along the path she treads; but going forth alone, what will she be likely to effect? She may bring the negro into contact with his more civilised neighbours, soften down somewhat of his external barbarism, and teach him a more refined method of gratifying his depraved appetites; but she will never uproot the desire of sinful indulgence from his soul. Commerce, again, may appeal to the negro's love of gain, give impulse to the passion; and by calling out his activities into trading pursuits, for a season divert him from what is unquestionably wicked, to that which is in itself innocent and good. But what will be the result? why every advantage which commerce may confer, will be consecrated to the indulgence of those predominating passions which now enslave the mind of Africa, and lead to the commission of the foulest crimes.

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But the most frightful of the moral and social evils of this country, are deeply rooted in its religious soil. This renders it probable, if not certain, that nothing will be adequate to their removal, short of the introduction of a religious system, in which these evils cannot grow. We have seen how universally polygamy prevails, and the enormous extent to which those monster evils, slavery and the slave-trade, exist; and also, how these co-exist with the religion of the false prophet. True, they had an existence before its introduction; but mohammedanism has adopted them—they are in perfect accordance with its own genius, and have become a part and parcel of itself. Mohammedanism, instead of proving a soil in which these evils cannot live, has shown itself to be the most fertile in which they could possibly subsist. They have derived from it fresh vitality and vigour, and a permanency of strength which they never had before. Prior to the spread of mohammedanism, polygamy, slavery, and the slave-trade were sustained by the natural depravity of the human heart; now they are sanctioned and nurtured by religion itself. Mohammedanism is the soil in which these social evils have their strongest and most certain growth; to destroy these evils, therefore, we must destroy mohammedanism itself; and by what is this great work to be accomplished, except by the communication of Christianity? The natives must cease to be mohammedans before these vices will become extinct; and by what shall their false faith be subverted, but by the true faith of the gospel of Jesus Christ?

The same line of argument holds good, in relation to the bloody sacrifices of human victims. These are one

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with African paganism, especially as it exists in the great empires of Ashanti and Dahomy. The reader of the preceding pages will not have failed to remark how human sacrifices consitute an essential part of the pagan systems of these two barbarous states. Their gods require these bloody offerings—their conceptions of a future state, and their superstitious fears of the influence of departed spirits, alike prompt them to the copious effusion of human blood. Teach them a holier and a better faith—let the pure, the merciful, and the ennobling doctrines of Christianity be diffused among them—and the work is done. Slaves will no longer be seen rushing from their dwellings, on the death of their masters, to escape from destruction. The axe of the executioner will be laid aside, and the sound of the death-drum no more be heard.

The fact is, the moral and social ills of Africa lie deeper than any mere civilising process can reach. It needs a purer conscience, and a higher standard of morals; and these enforced not by motives of merely human policy, but by the divine and awful sanctions of religion, and the offers of mercy and salvation through the atoning blood of the Redeemer. This is the exclusive province of Christianity; and if this be needful to the regeneration of Africa, then it belongs to Christianity to accomplish this mighty work.

It affords the author no little satisfaction, to find the most important of the preceding observations confirmed by the views of Mr. Beecham in relation to Ashanti. Speaking of the prominence which Sir Fowell Buxton has given, in his "spirit-stirring volume," to the sentiment that the gospel is the great civiliser of mankind,

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he says, "can any one possessed of a competent knowledge of the superstitions of Ashanti, hesitate to adopt this conclusion? Is an improved system of agriculture to be introduced? The visible representatives of the gods of the people are growing upon the very spot, where the experiment is to be attempted. Are the natives to be taught to work the invaluable mines, with which their country abounds? It will be found that the hills which contain the precious treasures, are the imaginary residences of the national deities, and that superstition would deprecate the sacrilegious touch. Are the advantages of an improved commerce to be recommended? Yes: but the intervention of the numerous unlucky days, and the time necessary for the consultation of the heathen oracles, before any important business can be undertaken, will retard and often defeat the best concerted arrangements. Are remonstrances to be addressed to the people, on account of their inhuman practices? The sacrifice of human victims is not inhumanity, in their estimation, but an act of piety most acceptable to their gods, and one of the best proofs which they can afford of their affection for departed relatives and friends. Even Osai Quamina, who lost his throne because he had ventured to abolish several other superstitious customs, did not dare abandon the practice of human sacrifices at the graves of his relatives; nor was such a reluctance an uncommon feeling. Very recently, the neighbouring king of Dahomy replied to a gentleman from Cape Coast Castle, who expostulated with him on the occasion of a public sacrifice—'that their religious customs rendered such offerings imperative, and that, were he to forbid them, the dissatisfaction

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of the people would place his own life in jeopardy.' It may, therefore, be considered as certain, that whatever may be done by other means, in the way of facilitating the introduction of the gospel, the work of civilisation will not be advanced to any considerable extent, until the superstitious spell by which the people are bound, shall be broken by Christianity."

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CHAPTER X.

CHRISTIANITY ADAPTED TO CIVILISATION—PRECEPTS—DOCTRINES—POWER OF GOD—SYSTEM OF BENEVOLENCE—CIVILISING PROCESS—WHAT THE GOSPEL HAS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED—POLITICAL INFLUENCE—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—WEST INDIES—NEW ZEALAND—SOUTH SEAS—SOUTH AFRICA—PROMOTION OF PEACE—ABOLITION OF POLYGAMY—ELEVATION OF WOMAN—REFORMATION OF MORALS—JAMAICA—COMFORTS OF LIFE—CHRISTIANITY PROMOTES AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES—INTELLECTUAL ADVANCEMENT—SUBVERSION OF SUPERSTITION—MOHAMMEDANISM—PAGANISM.

But that which other agencies have failed to effect, Christianity is in its nature adapted to accomplish.

SECTION I.

On the nature of Christianity, as an agency adapted to the civilisation of mankind, but little need be said.

True, civilisation and Christianity are inseparable. No man can become a Christian in the true sense of the term, however savage he may have been before, without becoming a civilised man. Christianity teaches the practice of humanity, purity of heart and life, honesty, truth, and justice, the promotion of peace on earth and

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good-will towards men.—These are the elements of a civilisation of the highest order.

But the gospel not only instructs us in the duties which we owe to our fellow-creatures; it inculcates supreme love to God. In this it lays the surest and the best foundation of all virtue, and so of the truest civilisation.

Christianity also teaches the doctrines of man's fallen state through sin, redemption by Christ, and renovation by the power of the Holy Ghost; and urges all upon the understanding and the conscience, by the revelation of a future state, and the sanctions of reward or punishment according to the conduct of men in the present life. These doctrines, received into the heart, clearly tend to make men humble, self-denying, beneficient, and holy; and hence it is apprehended they cannot exist in force in any community, without the moral and social well-being of that community being greatly promoted.

The gospel, moreover, is emphatically described as the "power of God;" from which, according to any reasonable interpretation of the words, it must be understood that a Divine influence accompanies the preaching of it, giving energy to its operations. In this arrangement, Christianity possesses advantages infinitely greater than any other system can presume to claim.

Besides, the Christian religion is a revelation from God. Now if God be, as the Bible teaches, supreme in benevolence as well as in power, wisdom, and knowledge—then the inference is plain, that to bring that revelation to bear upon mankind, is to promote their

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temporal welfare, as well as to provide for their eternal salvation. *

In reference to the manner in which the civilising process proceeds under the influence of Christianity, the observations of one of the respected secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, are too interesting and appropriate to our present purpose to be omitted.

"No sooner," Mr. Beecham remarks, "does the gospel begin to operate upon the mind of the heathen, than it leads to the first step in civilisation. It is shortly seen to be indecorous and improper for persons to meet together in a state of filthiness and comparative nudity, in the public worship of Almighty God. The people themselves are soon made to feel, under the teaching of the missionaries, that a more decent exterior is necessary, and thus clothing is introduced. As the next step, the gospel induces a settled course of life, and tends to promote industry. The people, having become desirous of hearing the gospel preached, find it necessary to renounce their wandering life and to have a settled abode. Having changed their mode of life so far as to take up a settled abode, industry becomes necessary for them to maintain themselves. Education, which is another step in the process of civilisation, naturally follows. The missionary, in preaching to the heathen, does not deliver opinions on his own independent authority; but he tells the people whom he addresses,

* For these observations the writer is chiefly indebted to D. Coates, Esq., and Rev. John Ellis.—vide "Evidence before the Aborigines Committee," pages 99, 171.

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that the doctrines which he declares are all found in a book which he holds in his hand, and which he calls the word of God, and which he tells them it is important that they should be able to consult for themselves. This creates in their mind a desire for school instruction, and many are soon found in the character of pupils, anxiously endeavouring to learn to read the word of that God who has been so lately made known to them. Then follows another stage of the civilising process—the gospel originates the moral virtues, truth, honesty, fidelity, chastity; and, denouncing polygamy, a fruitful source of evil among savage people, it maintains the sanctity of the marriage vow; and thus does it produce, as its direct and proper effect, the virtues which constitute, to so great an extent, the bond of civilised life. In intimate connexion with the moral virtues, the gospel brings in the humanities of life. While it enforces that the husband shall be faithful to his own wife, it enjoins also, that he should love her as his own flesh; and thus it raises woman from that state to which heathenism invariably depresses her. The gospel teaches parents to love their offspring, and to regard them as immortal spirits confided to their care, and which they are under obligation to train for eternity; and the mind of the heathen being brought under the influence of this teaching, at once infanticide is abolished. The gospel imposes on children a corresponding obligation to love and reverence their parents; and no sooner is this obligation felt by the heathen, than they are seen comforting and supporting their aged parents, instead of leaving them to perish in the jungle, or to be devoured by wild beasts. Then again, the gospel enjoins all to

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be merciful and forgiving one to another; and thus an end is put to violence and deeds of blood. Thus it is we trace the connexion between civilisation and Christianity, and reach the conclusion, that wherever the gospel exerts its legitimate influence, civilisation must naturally and necessarily follow."

SECTION II.

These statements are, it is apprehended, sufficient to establish in the most convincing manner, the truth that Christianity is in its very nature adapted to promote, in the highest sense, the civilisation of the heathen. We have ample evidence to show, that it is not only adapted to the work, but that it has already accomplished it in circumstances similar to those in which its efficacy is now to be tried in Africa.

The most essential features of Africa's degradation, are not without a parallel, under various modifications, in different parts of the heathen world. This fact will enable us to show that Christianity—judging from its operation elsewhere—possesses abundant efficacy for the cure of every malady with which this great continent is afflicted.

1. We have seen that Africa is, with some few exceptions, under the dominion of the most savage despotism. Now, mark the influence of Christianity upon the political constitution of states and tribes, in a similar or a worse condition. Take the island of Tahiti, in the South Seas, for example. "Formerly," says John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, in his evidence

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before the Aborigines Committee, "the will of the chief was law; life and death was entirely vested in his hand; he could send his messengers out, and kill a person upon any occasion, which he cannot do now." "Now," states Mr. Ellis, himself a labourer in this very sphere, "as the result of Christianity, the Tahitans have a simple, explicit, and wholesome code of laws." A representative government, and that bulwark of a people's liberties—trial by jury, have also been established. Law, therefore, a council of representatives, and a jury of their own countrymen, and not the mere arbitrary pleasure of the sovereign, now govern the people. "This code of laws is printed and circulated among them, understood by all, and acknowledged by all, as the supreme rule of action for all classes in the civil and social relations." To the practical working of these enactments, the highest testimony is borne by an impartial witness—Captain Beechy, a naval officer who visited the island in 1826, and was there several months. "The limit" he says, "imposed on the monarch, and the security afforded to the liberties and properties of the people, reflect credit upon the missionaries, who were very instrumental in introducing these laws."

A single incident will serve to show the measure of influence Christianity has had in effecting this beneficial change. The representatives of Tahiti having assembled, "sent a message to the queen to know upon what principles they were to proceed. She sent back a copy of the New Testament, saying, 'Let the principles of this book be the foundation of all your proceedings.'" Christianity was supreme in the estimation of the sovereign. By the principles of Christianity she had

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learned to govern herself, and on these principles, it was her pleasure that the enactments of those who were to legislate for her subjects, should be based.

The gospel has induced this voluntary surrender of despotic power in Tahiti, and conferred the most substantial privileges of law and liberty upon the people; and who shall say that its introduction to Africa shall not be attended with the same happy results? The Christian missionary may never employ any direct, as he certainly never will use any coercive measures, to alter the form of African governments; but in proportion as Christianity shall be diffused, and its mild and gentle, but almost omnipotent influence shall be felt, even kings in Africa, as well as in Tahiti, in obedience to the dictates of an enlightened conscience, or out of political regard to the claims of increased intelligence in their subjects, will be disposed to cede the change so much to be desired.

2. We have seen, still farther, that Africa is a land of slaves, and trades in the flesh and blood of her own population. But here, again, we have the fullest confidence in the efficacy of the gospel,—a confidence based on the known results of its operation.

Its achievements in this direction in our own times have been most triumphant. Nearly 800,000 emancipated negroes in our western islands ascribe their freedom to the benignant power of Christianity; and every honest man in Great Britain must attribute their deliverance to the same source. It was Christian principle that, after so many years of arduous contest, won this glorious battle in the cause of negro liberty. And, beyond a question, the diffusion of Christianity

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will in due time prove equally potent in the emancipation of the slave-bound population of the negro's fatherland. And, slavery extinct, what becomes of the slave-trade? They die together.

But this triumph of Christianity over slavery in the West Indies, as an evidence of its efficacy in the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in Africa, may be objected to. It may be said, that in the West Indies, slaves were transported from their native soil to a foreign country, and were held in bondage by a civilised people, dwelling far remote from the scene of their captivity; and that it was upon them Christianity was brought to bear in their emancipation; while in Africa, slavery is a domestic institution, and slaves are held by those who are themselves only in a semi-barbarous condition. Be it so. The gospel has accomplished similar achievements where the case has stood precisely as it stands in Africa.

In the first place, where it has not resulted in the immediate abolition of slavery, it has uniformly greatly mitigated the condition of the slave population. New Zealand is an example of this. According to the evidence of the Rev. Wm. Yate, church missionary from that island, before the Aborigines Committee, "half the population of the northern districts were slaves." Here, however, the observance of the sabbath is now everywhere established, and the slaves are allowed to attend Divine worship. On this day no labour is required from them, every possible advantage is given to them, and they are left entirely to themselves. In short, although the missionaries have not yet felt it their duty to attack slavery on

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general principles, the effect of Christianity has been, in every sense of the word, to alleviate it; and the slaves are now as happy as their masters, and have as full liberty, except that they cannot return to their friends. But in some instances even this has been granted; and the knowledge of Christ has thus been conveyed to distant tribes. Such is the influence of the gospel in ameliorating the condition of the slave; and no doubt, if the missionary be faithful in his instructions, and uncompromising in the avowal of his principles, the ultimate result will be, that every New Zealand captive will, at no distant day, rejoice in the possession of his freedom.

In the island of Tahiti the triumph of Christianity has been complete. The evidence of Mr. Ellis is decisive on this point. In answer to the question, "Have they any slaves there?" proposed by the Aborigines Committee, he replied,—"Not since Christianity has been introduced; formerly captives taken in war were made slaves." "Then Christianity, among other good effects," it was asked again, "has led to the abolition of slavery among them?" to which he emphatically answered,—"They never considered the two things compatible."

They never considered that Christianity and slavery were compatible! by a natural sequence, therefore, the sincere reception of the one resulted in the extinction of the other. The history of Christianity in the South Seas furnishes some delightful testimonies to this pleasing truth. An instance related in the "Missionary Enterprises," is deserving of special notice. The natives of Raiatea had renounced idolatry, and

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embraced the worship of the true God. The heathen chief of a neighbouring island, instigated by a small remnant who persisted in their adherence to their ancient superstitions, proclaimed war against them. They waited, in calm and prayerful dependence, to defend themselves from the threatened attack. The heathen chief and his army were successfully repulsed, and the Christian party came off victorious; and the moment arrived when the principles of the new converts were to be put to the severest test. Their enemies are in their hands,—how will they treat them? According to ancient custom, will they slaughter some, and reduce the rest to slavery? No; they declare to them the new and merciful doctrines which now influence them—the doctrines of Jesus. Instead of enslaving them, they provide for their prisoners of war a sumptuous entertainment, and then, under the full impression of so wonderful an exhibition of the transforming power of the gospel, bid them go free. Here slavery is struck at the very root, and one of its most fruitful sources in all barbarous countries is at once annihilated.

The Wesleyan mission among the Little Numaquas, in Southern Africa, affords another demonstration of the efficacy of Christianity in the abolition of slavery. It appears that "general laws and regulations" were drawn up for the government of a Christian community of natives, which the missionaries had been instrumental in forming. Mr. Beecham, in the course of his evidence before the Aborigines Committee, referring to these laws, says, "I discover evidence of the care which has been taken to guard against the introduction

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of slavery, the laws having been drawn up *while slavery was in existence.* It was enacted, 'that, to prevent any thing like slavery being carried on in this place, every new-year's-day, all who are, or may be taken as servants, shall be assembled together, and be free to serve their old masters, or hire themselves to others, if they please, under a proper contract.'" Here, then, in the very face of slavery, laws are enacted for its suppression, and the most effectual means are taken to secure the people in hereafter years from its galling yoke.

Such, then, is the anti-slavery tendency of Christianity, and such its efficacy in abolishing the accursed system amongst barbarous nations, and under circumstances very similar to those under which it now exists in Africa. The standard of the cross is the standard of liberty; and wherever it is planted, the result, both in a temporal and spiritual sense, is "liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them which are bound."

3. Closely allied to slavery and the slave-trade are the desolating wars of Africa. The gospel, however, has ever proved the harbinger of peace amongst savage nations.

In some instances, the personal interposition of the missionaries has induced two contending tribes to lay down their arms, and abandon their hostilities. The report of the evidence on the Aborigines Committee, furnishes a striking case of this kind. It occurred in New Zealand, and was related by the Rev. Wm. Yate, church missionary from that island. The shedding of the blood of one tribe by another is an imperative

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appeal for vengeance. Such a circumstance assembled in battle array two thousand New Zealand warriors on either side a little eminence. They were all well armed, within musket-shot of each other; and so equally matched, that a general slaughter must have been the result of a contest. The chiefs saw this inevitable consequence, and some were desirous of making peace; but ancient custom forbade their doing so, until vengeance had been taken for the injury inflicted. They at length sent for the missionaries, who, as they said, had been for "fifteen years talking to them about peace, to see what they could do." The missionaries obeyed the summons, and as mediators, pitched their tents between the hostile tribes. At first they could accomplish nothing, on account of divisions in the councils of the chiefs. At last they induced them to commit the decision of the question—peace or war—to one individual. They did so, and selected a "chief of great importance, but a dreadful savage." To him the missionaries now addressed themselves. They set before him the consequences of the war, even if victory crowned it, and pointed out to him the evil of it in the sight of God. In the result, he decided for peace, and these two tribes have been ever since the firmest friends and allies of any in the country.

But Christianity has operated in numerous cases in a manner yet more direct on the minds of the natives themselves, and induced them to abandon their wars, and cultivate the arts and blessings of peace. In the island of Tahiti, "peace remained unbroken for fifteen years from the time Christianity was adopted by the people." Similar effects have followed the introduction

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of the gospel in other islands of the Pacific. Of this, the following extract from the "Missionary Enterprises," is a deeply interesting and decisive testimony. The writer is speaking of Rarotonga. "Their wars," he says, "were exceedingly frequent. They had just been engaged in a disastrous conflict, when we discovered the island. Pa and Kainuku, with the inhabitants of the eastern district, had been fighting with Makea and Tinomana, the chiefs of the north and west sides of the island,—when the latter were beaten, and Makea, with his people, were driven away from their possessions; to which, however, peace having been restored, they had returned, about a month or two prior to my first arrival. The sad effects of these contests were then, and are still apparent, and there is not one old cocoa-nut tree to be seen on the north-west or south sides of the island. A few old bread-fruit trees still rear their lonely heads, having survived the injuries which they received from the hands of the devastating conquerors. Walking one day with the king among the groves of banana and bread-fruit trees, and observing the mutilations, I asked him jocosely, whilst pointing to one of them, why all the bark was stripped off; and turning to another, inquired why so deep a gash was cut in it; and wished to know what had become of the cocoa-nut trees, against the stumps of which we were continually striking our feet. To this he replied, 'You know very well that we were conquered, and why do you banter me? We were fools enough to fight with the trees, as well as with men; some we cut down ourselves, lest our enemies should eat the fruit of them, and others our conquerors

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destroyed. However, young trees are growing fast, and I am planting cocoa-nuts in all directions; so that my possessions will soon be equally valuable with those of our conquerors, and I am under no apprehension of having them again destroyed, for the gospel has put an end to all wars.'"

"The gospel has put an end to all wars"! This is its legitimate result, proved not merely in theory, but demonstrated by facts. Let the same peaceful system work its way among the warlike tribes of Africa, and, in spirit, at least, the language of the prophet shall find its fulfilment, and the people "shall not learn war any more, but beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks."

4. The practice of polygamy has been enumerated among the worst evils which the moral and social condition of Africa comprehends. This, however, under the influence of Christianity, has been supplanted, and the observance of the marriage institution, after the manner of its primitive appointment, been introduced to other heathen lands. On this subject we have the testimony of the Rev. Wm. Shaw, Wealeyan missionary among the Caffres of Southern Africa. Speaking of the missionary settlement called Wealeyville, he says, "We had several hundred persons in immediate connexion with the station, and the natives who came there abandoned polygamy, when they became residents of that village." The state of things here, this witness describes as a sample of what exists in the other missionary stations connected with this society, among these interesting people.

A similar testimony to the efficacy of the gospel, in

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inducing the heathen to abandon the practise of polygamy, is furnished by Mr. Moffat in his volume of thrilling interest, in relation to his own labours and adventures in the southern part of the African continent. "Among numerous examples of the power of Divine grace, it ought," he says, "to be particularly noticed, that polygamy—that formidable barrier to the success of the gospel among barbarous nations, has in numerous instances, given way to the principle sanctioned by Christianity." In confirmation of this, he mentions, "among the converts of Griqua Town, a Mosutu, who had ten wives, and who cheerfully parted with nine, in obedience to the requirements of the gospel."

In addition to these testimonies, we may appeal again to missionary labours in the South Sea Islands. During Mr. Williams's examination by the Aborigines Committee, the question was proposed, "Have they (the natives) relinquished entirely the practice of polygamy?" to which he replied, "Yes entirely, there is no instance of it now that I know of." His own volume affords the fullest corrobation of this decided answer. His account of the abandonment of the practice, and the measures adopted by the missionaries in order to abolish it in the island of Rarotonga, is peculiarly interesting and instructive.

"Prior," he says, "to the introduction of Christianity, polygamy existed to a very considerable extent; and when a person having a plurality of wives, offered himself as a candidate for baptism, the teachers had required that the individual should make a selection of one of

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them, and also provide for the support of those whom he put away. The measure succeeded beyond what might have been reasonably anticipated, and of the number who complied with the condition, only about twenty or twenty-five persons occasioned any trouble; but among these was the king, which considerably increased our difficulty. When we conversed with them on the subject, some said they had returned to each other, because they had not been left at liberty in their choice, whilst others alleged that they supposed the separation would be only temporary, and that had they known it was to be premanent, they should have made a different selection. Acting upon this information, Mr. Pitman and myself thought the best, and indeed the only way to overcome the difficulty entirely, would be to convene the people—recommend that those who were dissatisfied should be allowed to select publicly either of their wives, and then be united to her in marriage, in the presence of the whole assembly. Knowing that the king's course would form a precedent, we commenced by requesting him to name publicly the individual he intended to make his companion for life; and of his three wives he selected the youngest. He was then married to her, in the presence of his people. Having this precedent, we proceeded to the consideration of the other cases, and found but little difficulty in settling this truly perplexing affair. The measures adopted terminated exceedingly well; for, from that time to the present, no inconvenience has been experienced. Had those who were determined to take back their wives, been allowed to do so, it would have universally

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restored polygamy; and thus all that had been effected by the teachers towards the removal of this evil would have been rendered nugatory.

Polygamy so universally prevalent, and practised to so great an extent as it is in Africa, will doubtless form one of the most formidable evils Christianity will have to encounter in that country. But in the view of these encouraging facts relating to its subversion in other lands, we feel warranted in cherishing the most unhesitating confidence, that the people being brought under the influence of the gospel, and the missionary pursuing measures somewhat similar to those adopted in the island of Rarotonga, or such others as sound policy may dictate, and the circumstances of the case require, this Dagon will also fall before the ark of the Lord.

5. The efficacy of the gospel in elevating women from the degradation in which she is too commonly found in heathen countries, is so generally understood and acknowledged as to need scarcely more than a passing notice. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with a single testimony. It describes, however, a state of things so precisely similar to that which exists in Africa, and exhibits the power of Christianity as so effectual an antidote, that the reader cannot fail to have in it the fullest confidence, as an all-sufficient remedy in this respect, at least for the ills of that unhappy portion of our race, among whom we are anxiously concerned its efficacy should be universally tried.

Mr. Beecham, in his evidence before the Aborigines Committee, presented a letter from the celebrated Peter Jones, a converted Indian chief, in answer to several

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questions which that gentleman had proposed to him, in relation to the Chippeway Indians. The following is an extract from this interesting document:—*Question*, "Has not the condition of your women been generally improved?" *Answer*, "The gospel has of a truth proved to be the savour of life unto life, among our poor degraded women. In their heathen state, they were looked upon by the men as inferior beings, and were treated as such. The women were doomed to do all the drudgeries of life, such as making of the wigwams, the carrying of the materials for the wigwams in their wanderings, the bringing in of the deer and bears killed by the men, dressing the skin, cooking, and making their clothing, taking care of the children, providing fire-wood, and making the fires, planting the Indian-corn, &c. I rejoice to say, since the introduction of Christianity among us, nearly all these heavy burdens have been removed from the backs of our afflicted women. The men now see that the women were not taken from the feet, to be trodden upon; but that they were taken from the side of man, that he might love her as his own body, and hold her fast close to his side. The men now make the houses, plant the fields, provide fuel and provision for the house. The business of the women is to manage the affairs of the house. They sew and make garments for themselves and families, cook, wash their clothing and dishes. The females eat with the men at the same table. You will be glad to hear that they are not insensible to the great things the gospel has done for them. I have often heard them expressing their thanks to the Great Spirit, for sending them missionaries to tell them the words of eternal life,

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which have proved to be the means of delivering them from a state of misery and degradation."

"A state of misery and degradation" indeed! Such *was* the condition of woman among the Chippeway Indians. How wonderful the transformation which the gospel has effected! "A state of misery and degradation!" Such *is* the condition of woman in Africa. But who shall say, that Africa brought under the same heavenly influence, shall not equally prove its power in elevating the condition, and transforming the character of its unhappy daughters?

6. Equally powerful has Christianity proved, in reforming the morals of both sexes, amongst barbarous nations; and in this respect also, we have the fullest reliance on its efficacy, as an all-sufficient remedy for Africa; although chargeable, as we have seen, with almost every crime which has polluted other parts of the heathen world. Here we may appeal, in particular, to the effects of the gospel among the descendants of Africa, in the island of Jamaica.

Prior to the introduction of Christianity, or the commencement of missionary operation, the morals of these unhappy people were of the basest character. Transported from the shores of heathenism, and carrying with them the strongest attachment to the superstitious practices of their fatherland—in bondage, besides, to cruel taskmasters, who would fain deny to them the attributes of humanity, and who regarded it as their interest, while enslaving their bodies, also to hold their minds in slavish ignorance—how should it have been otherwise? "The sanctities of marriage being almost unknown, their social condition was deplorable.

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Unameliorated by any firm domestic relations, their houses were embittered by a frequent exhibition of all the dark passions of the fallen heart—hatred, variance, strifes, seditions, envyings, murders. Moral honesty, or a conscientious regard to truth, was not only unknown, but unlooked for; while to this it must be added, that the negroes sought relief from the sadness produced by the labours and sufferings of the day in their nightly dances, which were of a character the most licentious."

Such was the moral condition of the negro population in Jamaica. How glorious the change which Christianity has effected! Jamaica is free; and the highest testimonials are borne by men, whose veracity no one will dare to dispute, to the present state of its coloured inhabitants. "The institution of marriage is now observed with fidelity." "From the year 1835 down to 1840, the baptist missionaries alone united in these interesting bonds 7,866 couples." "The love of rioting in violence and iniquity, has been superseded by an earnest desire after instruction, and a diligent and industrious pursuit after that knowledge which is able to make wise unto salvation. Instead of their former heathenish songs and obscenity, the voice of prayer and praise to the true God, may often be heard from the negro's hut." "A more industrious population," states special-justice Walsh, "does nowhere exist." "The court of quarter-sessions and common pleas for this parish (St. Thomas-in-the-vale) have just been opened, and adjourned *pro forma*, without a single case being brought before the jury. There was only one indictment for larceny; and in that the witnesses did not appear, and the prisoner was discharged, on his

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own recognisance, to appear next court. The extent and population of the parish considered, as well as the extensive jurisdiction of these courts, which are only held four times a-year, renders this fact an important one; and what adds to its value is, that it is not an unusual one." "In the parish of St. John," says justice Woolfry, "the treadwheel has been sold, and the supervisor has received notice to quit at the end of the quarter." "A few years ago," say Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, "the negroes were heathen and benighted, now they are, to a great extent, enlightened and Christian. The sabbath, once desecrated, is now devoted to public prayer and thanksgiving, and to the enjoyment of Christian communion." The testimony of Lord Stanley, given in the House of Commons, considering the high quarter from whence it comes, is, if possible, still more pleasing. "The thriving condition," his lordship remarked, "of the peasantry is very striking and gratifying. I do not suppose that any peasantry in the world have so many comforts or so much independence and enjoyment. Their behaviour is peaceable, and, in some respects, admirable. They are fond of attending Divine service, and are to be seen on the Lord's day thronging to their respective churches and chapels, dressed in good clothes, and many of them riding on horseback. They send their children to school, and pay for their schooling. They subscribe for the erection of churches and chapels; and, in the baptist communities, they not only provide the whole of the religious establishment, but, by the amount of their contributions, afford to their minister a very respectable support. Marriage is general among the people; their

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morals are, I understand, much improved; and their sobriety is remarkable. I am very happy to add, that, in most respects, they appear to deserve their good fortune."

Such is now the happy condition of the island of Jamaica; and this great moral change is the triumph of the gospel. The magistrate does not hesitate to ascribe it to missionary exertion. "I attribute," says special-justice Walsh, writing to a missionary, "in a great degree, the enlightened, and quiet, and peaceable condition of Guy's Hill district to your own exertions, as well as those of your brethren." The negro, as at the throne of the heavenly grace, he acknowledges with fervid gratitude the happy transformation in his state and character, ascribes it to the same influence. And who that is familiar with the history of Jamaica would ever dream of attributing it to any other source?

Christianity has reformed the morals of Jamaica; and crimes, which were once rampant, have fled before the face of gospel light and liberty. Jamaica now stands in the view of the world an imperishable monument to the wondrous efficacy of heavenly truth,—not only in breaking the chains of an earthly bondage, but in making the slave of sin the servant of righteousness.

But has the gospel accomplished more in Jamaica than it is competent to effect in Africa? Let its power be tested, and the same resistless influence from heaven accompany it, and even in Africa the darkness of iniquity shall be chased away, and "righteousness shall go forth as brightness."

7. Christianity not only reforms the morals, but induces the cultivation of the comforts of life. We

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have seen how little regard is had to these among the natives of Africa; the same was the case among the Chippeway Indians. "Ten years ago," writes Peter Jones, the converted chief, "each person could carry all he possessed on his back, without being much burdened." But the gospel has worked its wonders amongst them. Behold the change! "They are now," he adds, "occupying about forty comfortable houses, most of which are built of hewn logs, and a few of frame. They are generally one and a half stories high, and about twenty-four feet long, and eighteen feet wide, with stone or brick chimneys,—two or three rooms in each house. Their furniture consists of tables, chairs, straw mattrasses, a few feather-beds, window-curtains, boxes, and trunks for their wearing apparel, small shelves fastened against the wall for books, closets for their cooking utensils, cupboards for their plates, cups, saucers, knives, and forks; some have clocks and watches."

When shall the "bee-hive" huts of Africa give place to commodious dwellings, built in the European fashion, and their present scanty furniture be augmented by the addition of the comforts of an English house? The answer is plain,—When the gospel, the great civiliser of mankind, as among the Chippeways as well as among numerous other tribes to which we might refer, shall have renewed the hearts, and expanded the desires, and elevated all the feelings, and taught the natives of Africa the true dignity of their nature and the importance of their destiny.

8. The communication of Christianity to heathen countries, has been of the highest advantage to agricul-

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ture, manufactures, and commerce. Thus "waggons, as well as the plough," it is stated by Mr. Beecham, "have been introduced to Wesleyville," a Wesleyan missionary station among the Caffres of Southern Africa; and the cultivation of almost every variety of English grain, fruit, and vegetable, has been introduced among the Chippeway Indians. "But a very few years ago, a chisel made out of stone was the only tool in New Zealand; now they not only have our tools, but are learning to use them; and the Caffre chief, in his evidence before the Aborigines Committee, very significantly said, in describing the changed condition of the people since the reception of Christianity, "We have ploughing, waggon-makers, and shoemakers, and other tradesmen amongst us; we can make all those things, except a watch and a coach." In the South Seas, the missionaries have been instrumental in introducing the art of "smiths' work, house-building, ship-building, lime-burning, pruning, sofa, chair, and bedstead-making, sugar-boiling, and tinting." These islands are also in themselves a sufficient testimony to the beneficial influence of Christian missions upon general commerce. "In these alone many thousands of persons are at this moment wearing and using articles of European manufacture, by whom, a few years ago, no such article had been seen; indeed, in the more advanced stations, there is scarcely an individual who is not attired in English clothing, which has been obtained in exchange for native produce. Besides, in a barbarous state, the natives possess not the knowledge requisite for turning the capabilities and productions of their islands to good account. The sugar-cane was

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indigenous to Tahiti, but it is only since the inhabitants have been Christianised and taught by the missionaries, that they have manufactured sugar, and thus converted the cane into a valuable article of commerce. At present, the Samoa islands have nothing to dispose of but a little cinet (cord made from the cocoa-nut husk), and small quantities of tortoiseshell. In a very few years, however, should missionary labours be successful, they will be taught to prepare hundreds of tons of cocoa-nut oil and large quantities of arrow-root annually, to manufacture sugar, to cultivate their land, and to supply our shipping with provisions." Mr. Ellis stated to the Aborigines Committee, on the information of London merchants, that the Tahitans, since the introduction of Christianity, "had prepared and sent to England in one year more arrow-root than had been imported into this country for nearly twenty previous years." "Thus, wherever the missionary goes, new channels are cut for the stream of commerce."*

The miserable condition of Africa, compared with its vast resources, in relation either to commerce, manufactures, or agriculture, has been shown in a preceding chapter. But the above-mentioned facts make it abundantly apparent that its population have only to receive that impetus which the gospel is able to give, when an improvement in all these respects will be discoverable, and the rich productiveness of their native soil will yield a plentiful harvest to the hand of the cultivator; the skill and industry of the artisan will be brought into activity, and find their reward; and the reciprocal advantages of

* Missionary Enterprises.

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an extensive commerce will be mutually reaped by the nations of Africa and the more civilised states of surrounding continents.

9. The intellectual acquirements of the natives of Africa we have seen to be such as the other features of their condition might lead us to expect. That system, however, the propagation of which would certainly tend to their elevation in other respects, would, we have the fullest persuasion, promote their advancement in this.

We have not here to discuss the nature of Christianty, from the consideration of which, alone, it must appear that mental improvement must inevitably be the result of its diffusion. We have now only to deal with facts. These in the history of the gospel, amongst barbarous nations, are complete and decisive.

The natives of New Zealand were in almost the lowest state of intellectual debasement. But the Christian missionary has reduced their language to writing, and now the Bible is in course of translation, printing presses are working, and printed copies of several parts of the Scriptures are in circulation. "Not six years ago," states Mr. George Clarke, catechist in the island, in a letter submitted to the Aborigines Committee by the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, "the people commenced on the very rudiments of learning, now many of them can read and write their own language with propriety, and are completely masters of the first rudiments of arithmetic."

The Cherokee Indians are reaping the fruits of missionary labour in respect to intellectual advancement, "in the invention of a new alphabet, the establishment of a printing office, and a weekly newspaper, called the

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Cherokee Phœnix, which is circulated through the nation."

In many of the islands of the South Seas "the language of the natives has been reduced by the missionaries to a system; orthography, a grammar, and a dictionary have been prepared. When the natives adopted Christianity, they were willing to become pupils in the school; but until Christianity supplied a motive, by producing a desire to read the Scriptures, they never had a motive sufficient to lead them to endure the restraint and confinement of the school, but they have done so since, and there are several thousands now capable of reading and writing. The entire volume of revelation has been translated; the New Testament has been printed, and is in circulation among them."*

A similar testimony is borne to the result of missionary operations among the tribes of Southern Africa. In short, wherever the light of Christianity has shone, it has not only illumined the mind in relation to those subjects which it is supremely designed to teach, but it has, in so doing, discovered to men their own intellectual capabilities; it has taught them that they ought to live for some higher purpose than merely that of animal gratification; it has opened new scenes of mental vision; it has had a vivifying influence over the mind itself, and has enkindled the most intense desires after intellectual pursuits. Yea more, Christianity, in giving to barbarous nations a written language and the art of printing, has supplied the means of indefinitely diffusing its own glorious light, and increasing and

* Evidence of Rev. W. Ellis before Aborigines Committee.

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perpetuating all kinds of knowledge to the very end of time.

What Christianity has done for the New Zealander, the South-Sea Islander, and the Caffre, it is able to accomplish for the semi-barbarous natives of Western and Central Africa.

10. Christianity, judging from its achievements in other parts of the world, is destined to triumph over all the moral and social evils which are now rampant in Africa; but will it prove equally victorious over the false and fatal superstitions which enslave the minds of the people? To this question we answer in language of the strongest affirmation. Here it is, in every instance to which the preceding pages have referred, its conquests have begun. It is to its power to triumph here, that all its other achievements must be traced. This confers upon Christianity the lofty superiority which it claims over all other systems which have ventured to encounter the moral evils of the world. If we may presume to employ the language of Scripture in a sense so adverse from its original meaning, the superstitions of the heathen are *as a wall of fire* around the empire of the wicked one established amongst them. They are the great conservators of all misery and crime —of every moral and social ill. Before, therefore, these can be attacked, a breach must be made in the great barrier which defends them. Here, then, Christianity begins, and brings to bear upon this the artillery of heaven; and it is to its potency in effecting this necessary breach, that it owes all its victories. As an instrument, therefore, for the subversion of superstition, we cherish in it the strongest confidence.

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Even mohammedanism has yielded to the superior might of gospel truth. True it is that the religion of the false prophet has not yet been extensively subverted; but, in proportion to the means which have been employed, success has crowned our efforts, and our missionary annals record many instances in confirmation of the fact, that Christianity is divinely powerful in the case of the inveterately prejudiced mind of the mussulman.

There are, besides, some circumstances in relation to to mohammedanism, as it exists in Africa, of a specially encouraging character. In the more western parts of Africa, at least, the system is of more recent origin, and, consequently, less deeply rooted in the public mind than in some other parts of the world. The people, moreover, are but little versed in the dogmas of their creed. Even the priests, in many instances, read the Koran without understanding the sense, being familiar with the Arabic characters, and nothing more. Of this ample evidence has been given in a preceding chapter. Both priest and people, therefore, are the less able to resist the cogent arguments of the missionary in favour of Christianity. The female portion of the moslem community are not held in such perfect seclusion from society as in other mohammedan countries. They are, consequently, accessible to the Christian teacher; and, their feelings once enlisted, a powerful influence, under the Divine blessing, for the furtherance of the gospel, is secured. To this it must be added, that mohammedanism in Africa is more tolerant in its spirit than elsewhere. "The mussulmen of the west do not regard Christians with the same horror as

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those of the east; they seem to be favourably impressed by finding that we acknowledge much of their own *sacred* history (more properly ours); and with them the names of Abraham and Moses serve to recommend our holy books. Besides, there are points in the mohammedan faith which we may turn to account in attempting to introduce better instruction. We may make common cause with them in Africa in our abhorrence of the bloody rites and sacrifices of the pagans. Thus Mr. Hutchinson writes from Kumasi:—"This place now presents the singular spectacle of a Christian and a mohammedan absenting themselves from human sacrifices and other abominations. The rest of the people, of whatever country they may be, when the king's horns announce any thing of the kind, strive who will get there first to enjoy the agonies of the victim."

We are not, however, unmindful of the fact, that the mohammedan and Christian systems are essentially antagonist to each other, and that the ground will have to be contested inch by inch. Still, the above-mentioned circumstances, but, yet more than all, our confidence in the sovereign efficacy of the gospel, and the resistless power of Him who has pledged his word that it shall prevail, assures us that mohammedan superstition in Africa shall ultimately flee before the face of Christian truth.

But Africa is not only under the influence of mohammedanism, the great majority of its inhabitants are pagans of the lowest order. For the triumph of the gospel over idolatry, we need only appeal to the South Sea Islands. But the facts connected with its glorious

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achievements there are so numerous, and have so long in all their details been before the church of Christ and the public in general, as to make it altogether needless to advert to particular instances. There are two or three points, however, connected with these wonderful transactions, which deserve especial notice.

It is to be observed, that the successes of the gospel, in subverting the superstitions of the South Sea islanders, are to be traced, under God, to its own inherent efficacy. It has been asserted, that the progress of Christianity amongst these people is to be ascribed to the aid it derived from the civil power. But this statement the martyred missionary Williams flatly affirms is "not founded in truth." "Having witnessed," he says, "the introduction of Christianity into a greater number of islands than any other missionary, I can safely affirm, that in no single instance has the civil power been employed in its propagation. It is true that the *moral* influence of the chiefs has, in many instances, been most beneficially exerted on behalf of Christianity; but never, to my knowledge, have they employed coercion to induce their subjects to embrace it. Had the missionaries desired the exercise of that power, the chiefs were not in a condition to gratify them; for they had to defend themselves against the fury of a large portion of their own subjects, by whom they were fiercely attacked. I am, moreover, happy in being able to contradict the assertion; because, were it true, it would have detracted from the honour of Christ, by the interposition of whose providence the great work has been effected. 'His own arm hath gotten him the victory.' Further, it would have

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derogated from the honour of Christianity, which has triumphed, not by human authority, but *by its own moral power.*"

It is also to be observed, that many of the triumphs of the gospel in the South Seas have been remarkable for the speedy manner of their achievement. For a number of years, it is true, the first missionaries laboured under great discouragements. But at length they reaped the reward of their perseverance and their toils. The events of Providence conspired almost miraculously in their favour. It became evident that the hand of God was with them. A Divine influence rested on the people; their hearts were opened to the reception of the truth; the empire of darkness was overthrown in one island after another with wonderful rapidity; and, in some instances, the superstitions of ages were abandoned in a single day. This was literally the case in the islands of Mitiaro and Mauke. "In this people," says Mr. Williams, "the words of the psalmist have a striking fulfilment,—'As soon as they hear of me they shall obey me: the strangers shall submit themselves unto me.' The sun had risen with his wonted splendour, gilding the eastern heavens with his glory; and little did the inhabitants of Mauke and Mitiaro imagine, that before he retired beneath the horizon in the western sky, Ichabod would be written upon the idolatry of their ancestors. How sudden and unexpected at times are the gifts of a bountiful Providence! How unlooked-for and unsought the communications of God's mercy!"

It should, further, be particularly remarked, that the paganism of the South Sea Islands was distinguished,

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as it is in Africa, by the offering up of human victims in sacrifice. These are described, with all their attendant circumstances of horror, by the now-sainted missionary, Williams. But to this description it was his privilege to add: "These very people, who a few years ago were addicted to all these horrid practices, now sit by thousands in places of Christian worship, clothed and in their right mind, and listen with intense interest to the truths of the gospel." "When Christianity was adopted by the people," says Mr. Ellis, in his evidence before the Aborigines Committee, "human sacrifices entirely ceased."

It is once more to be observed, that the work which has thus been accomplished, has proved a lasting one. Idolatry is at an end. The gospel has given to it a mortal wound; nor has it since ever lifted up its head. "Had you reason," it was asked Mr. Williams by the Aborigines Committee, "to apprehend at the period when you left the island, that the natives were relapsing into idolatry?" "Not a single instance," was his emphatic reply, "among all the thousands of converts that I have met, I never saw one turn again to idolatrous practices."

The gospel has triumphed! The term of the reign of paganism, in a considerable portion of Polynesia, has expired. Its ascendancy once lost, has never, in a single instance, been regained; and all its bloody rites have ceased for ever. Christianity now sits enthroned in the hearts of their once idolatrous inhabitants. How encouraging! Paganism reigns with almost undisputed rule in Africa,—except, indeed, where the almost equally pernicious tenets of the false apostle have

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usurped its dominion. But the days of paganism, even in Africa, are numbered. Africa presents to the gospel a field for conquest very similar to that of the Southern Seas; and who shall say, that having conquered in the one, it shall not come off equally victorious in the other, and erase the name of every foul spirit from every mountain and tree with which it is now associated—banish the demon of superstition from every wood which he is now imagined to render terrible by his presence—drive him from every lake and river where he is now accustomed to be worshipped—break down the bloody altars on which so many thousands of human victims are annually slain—and bear away the grigris of the negro as the trophies of its triumphs? All these would not be novel achievements. They would only be the re-actment of deeds which the gospel has already done, and to which the whole world is witness.

The whole case is now before the reader. Past efforts for the civilisation of barbarous nations, unaccompanied by the influence of Christianity, have, for the most part, and except in the most limited measure, failed; and are, from the nature of the case, likely to fail in Africa. Christianity, however, is seen to be in its nature adapted to accomplish that which other agencies have failed to effect, and is also found to have remedied in other parts of the world those very evils, in the cure of which its efficacy is now to be tried in Africa. The conclusion is irresistible, viz.—that Christianity is the only, but yet the all-sufficient remedy for Africa.

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CHAPTER XI.

MISSIONS TO WEST AFRICA—CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY—SUSUS—BULLOMS—SIERRA LEONE—TIMANEES—WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY—SIERRA LEONE—ST. MARY'S, ON THE GAMBIA—MACCARTHY'S ISLAND—GOLD COAST—ASHANTI—BADAGRY—ABOKUTA—DAHOMY—FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES—AMERICAN PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH—AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS—GERMAN MISSIONS—BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY—FERNANDO PO—CAMEROONS—CALEBAR.

THE history of Christian missions in Western Africa furnishes an ample confirmation of the views to which expression has been given in the preceding chapter. A brief review of their operations will serve, therefore, to encourage our confidence in the efficacy of the gospel as an all-sufficient remedy for the miseries of this great continent.

The earliest modern effort for the evangelisation of Western Africa was made by the Baptist Missionary Society. In the year 1795, two missionaries were sent out by this society to Sierra Leone; but, owing to indiscretion on the part of one, and failure of health on the part of the other, the mission was speedily abandoned.

In the year 1796, a united attempt was made by the Scottish, the London, and the Glasgow Missionary Societies. This also, owing to sickness and dissension, was attended with no better success.

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SECTION I.

It was not till 1804 that the Church Missionary Society commenced their labours in this part of the heathen world. A mission was established first among the Susus, and afterwards among the Bulloms, while the chaplaincy of Sierra Leone was held by one of the missionaries.

It does not, however, appear that any permanent results attended the Susu and Bullom mission; and, after the lapse of a few years, both were given up. The ultimate failure of this undertaking is, unquestionably, to be traced to the influence of the slave-trade; but it is also to be considered, whether it may not in part be attributed to the mode of operation pursued.

Without wishing in the least to reflect upon the agents employed, whose circumstances were peculiarly difficult and perplexing, it may be stated, that public preaching was at first, for the most part, neglected; and the energies of the missionaries entirely devoted to the keeping of schools and the instruction of the native children. When both these efforts (public preaching and schools) are combined, the happiest results may be anticipated; but where education is allowed to supersede the Divine ordinance of preaching, experience has ever proved that but little good is to be expected. Schools are specially adapted to meet the case of the rising generation; but preaching is the most effective method of instruction for the adult population. Too much importance cannot be attached to the education

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of the young; but if this be made the primary object, and the adults be comparatively overlooked, the influence of the latter will, in all probability, defeat and render unavailing the best-intentioned efforts.

It must not, however, be supposed that the labours of these early missionaries in Africa were altogether fruitless. Some considerable progress was made in the work of Bible translation into the Susu language; and if the schools made no decidedly useful impression upon the adults, instances of conversion took place among the children, and pleasing records remain of some, who closing in early life their earthly career, left behind them undoubted evidence of their preparation for better and brighter scenes in an eternal world.

About the year 1817, the out-stations being given up, the operations of the Church Missionary Society were confined to the colony of Sierra Leone. Public preaching was now vigorously pursued; and the "Christian Institution," for the education of negro children liberated from captured slaves, was established, and the most beneficial effects speedily followed.

The condition of the people when these labours first commenced, is described as having been most deplorable. Natives of twenty-two different nations, many of whom had been but recently liberated from the holds of slave-ships, were collected together. These having no common medium of intercourse, except a little broken English, were greatly prejudiced against each other, and in a state of continual hostility. When clothing was given to them, it was difficult to induce them to put it on. Female purity was unknown, and the sanctities of marriage wholly disregarded. In some huts, ten,

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fifteen, and even twenty were crowded together. Many of these were ghastly as skeletons. So great was the mortality, that six or sometimes eight died in one day. All placed their dependence on the wearing of grigris; and devil-houses, the temples of their superstition, raised their heads on every hand. Scarcely any desire for improvement manifested itself. Hardly six acres of land were brought under cultivation. The fear of plunder deterred those who where disposed, from working the soil. Numbers fled to the woods.

Happy indeed, was the change effected among this degraded people, under the transforming power of the gospel of Christ. In the year 1816, Mr. Johnson was stationed in Regent's Town, by the Church Missionary Society. Here the word of God proved effectual, and many were truly converted to the Christian faith. The institution of marriage began to be observed. Sobriety and industry prevailed. Several became regular communicants at the Lord's table, and all, assuming an appearance of cleanliness and decency, attended upon public worship.

In 1820, Regent's Town was laid out with regularity; nineteen streets were formed, and good roads were made. A large stone church arose in the midst of the negro habitations. A government-house, a parsonage-house, an hospital, school-houses, store-houses, a bridge of several arches, some native dwellings, and other buildings, all of stone, were also erected. The people all became farmers; besides the neatly fenced gardens, which were attached to every dwelling, all the land in the immediate neighbourhood was laid under cultivation,

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and plots of ground, even to the distance of three miles, were made available to the purposes of agriculture. Many learned to exercise various trades; and the town boasted fifty masons and bricklayers, forty carpenters, thirty sawyers, thirty shingle-makers, twenty tailors, four blacksmiths, and two butchers. In these ways, upwards of six hundred negroes maintained themselves, and were enabled, by their own industry, to relieve from all expense, on their personal account, that government to which they paid their grateful allegiance.

The appearance and the manners of the people improved in an equal degree. The females learned to make their own garments, all were decently clothed, and about four hundred couples were married. Public worship was regularly conducted, and, on an average, from twelve hundred to thirteen hundred negroes attended.

Such were the first fruits of missionary labour in Sierra Leone. How glorious are these to contemplate! Christianity first accomplishes those measures, which result in the seizure of the slaver, and the liberation of its wretched cargo of human beings; and then, in the person of her misionaries, visiting the asylum which she has provided for them, raises them from the degradation in which she finds them, to the enjoyment of the blessings of enlightened piety, domestic comfort, and the truest civilisation. This, surely, is one of the noblest triumphs of philanthropy, and must inspire the most cheerful confidence in the gospel, as the best remedy for the woes of Africa!

The labours of the Church Missionary Society in this

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colony, during every succeeding year, although sometimes interrupted and retarded by severe afflictions, bear a similar testimony to the renewing and civilising power of Christianity.

The present state of this mission is most encouraging. The Christian institution for native teachers now contains twenty-seven students, and is under the superintendence of a gentleman of African descent, assisted by two natives, one in the capacity of tutor, and the other of monitor.

So great is the demand in the colony for school-masters, that the students are compelled to remove from the institution, as soon as they are in any degree qualified for the office, and before they have derived all the advantages, which it is capable of affording. During the past year, two students left, in order to act as assistant school-masters. At the half-yearly examination in September, 1842, the students are reported to have acquitted themselves satisfactorily, in the several branches of their studies—including history, geography, arithmetic, grammar, and Bible history.

The congregations, together with the day and Sunday schools, are rapidly increasing. Two new churches have been built, and the natives have cheerfully and thankfully contributed their gratuitous services in their erection.

The general result of missionary labour in Sierra Leone, is thus summed up, by the Rev. D. F. Morgan, colonial chaplain. "When the attention is directed," he says, "to the moral aspect of the colony, whither it ought to be directed, the impression which the scene leaves upon the mind, is one of pleasing astonishment. The effects, instead of falling short, far exceed the means

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employed, so as to leave no doubt of the blessing of Heaven having rested on past efforts. The Christian aspect of the villages exhibits a most engaging sight, and forces the exclamation, 'What hath God wrought!' The success of scriptural education, accompanied with missionary labours, has nowhere been surpassed in the history of modern Christianity."

Gratifying testimony is borne to the truth of these statements, by the West African Committee of the House of Commons, who affirm in their report, that "to the invaluable exertions of the Church Missionary Society, more especially—as also to a considerable extent, as in all our African settlements, to the Wesleyan body, the highest praise is due. By their efforts, nearly one-fifth of the whole population—a most unusually high proportion in any country—are at school; and the effects are visible, in considerable moral and religious improvement—very considerable, under the peculiar circumstances of such a colony."

The Church Missionary Society has recently extended its operations to the Timanee country, and a mission school-room and three dwelling-houses have been built in a native town, about forty miles from Sierra Leone, containing a population of about 2,500 persons.

Here two missionaries and two native schoolmasters are employed. The number of scholars in the school has been gradually increasing. At the end of the year there were thirty-five, the progress of whom is highly satisfactory. Ten months ago, neither the boys nor the girls knew a word of English: now the greater part of them read and write.

Divine service in English is held every Lord's day in

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the school-room, when the children and a few others, who understand English, attend. The missionaries also regularly preach in Timanee, in the yard of the king's house and those of other chiefs, to congregations varying from thirty to sixty.

On the whole, although it is as yet only the day of small things with this mission, there is much to kindle expectation, and to encourage hope.

The following is a summary of the church mission in Western Africa:—stations, fourteen; communicants, 1,275; attendants on public worship, 6,086; schools, forty-seven; scholars, 5,475.

SECTION II.

Since the year 1811, the Wesleyan Missionary Society has laboured with much energy and success for the evangelisation of Western Africa.

In Sierra Leone the most delightful results have ensued from their persevering and energetic exertions. In 1835, they had eleven different buildings throughout the colony, in which public worship was held. At this period, the average attendance was about 2,220, including 583 communicants, 758 school children, and forty-one teachers and leaders.

Since this period, the most cheering progress has been made. Every department of the mission is said to afford pleasing indications of prosperity. Although many of the people have emigrated, the aggregate number of members in church-communion continues to increase. Much has also been done in providing

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commodious and substantial places of worship. Instead of grass houses, comfortable and convenient chapels—some of stone, with shingled roofs and boarded floors—have been erected. During the last three years, twelve chapels of this description have been built, besides three school-houses and a mission-house. The mission schools are in a state of efficient operation.

As another interesting testimony to the desire for improvement which is growing up among the liberated Africans in the colony, it is stated that they have recently raised by contributions upwards of £120. towards the purchase of a printing press.

There are now, in connexion with the Wesleyan mission at Sierra Leone, three central or principal stations, called circuits, and six missionaries. The number of church-members has increased to 2,371, and the number of scholars to 1,462. There are twenty-three paid teachers, besides others whose services are gratuitous.

In 1821, the Wesleyan Society commenced a mission at St. Mary's, at the mouth of the river Gambia. The natives here were exceedingly depraved. As masters, they are described as having been proud, insolent, and cruel; as servants, fawning, hypocritical, and extremely dishonest. The great majority of them were pagans; but their paganism was mixed up with the worst mohammedan superstitions.

This mission has had to encounter peculiar difficulties. Nevertheless, the work has been maintained, a commodious chapel has been erected, and God has blessed the labours of his servants. Three young men, who have for some time been class-leaders, and one a local

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preacher, are receiving daily instruction under the superintendence of the resident missionary, in order to their future and more extensive usefulness. The schools are well attended, and making good progress. There are now, in connexion with this mission, 279 church-members, and 207 scholars.

In 1833, the Gambia mission was extended to Mac-Carthy's Island, situated about three hundred miles from St. Mary's. A chapel, capable of accommodating five hundred people, has been built. This is well attended by the liberated Africans, and some few Jaloffs manifest an increasing regard for the worship of God. Schools have been established, some of which are conducted by native teachers. Most of these are said to be in a flourishing state.

During the past year, "The Educational Establishment, for the instruction of the sons of native kings and chiefs, and of native traders," has been opened with a pleasing promise of success. Two of the first students who entered the establishment were sons of the king of Kataba.*

From this important establishment a large amount of benefit may be reasonably anticipated. Trained, as the children will be, under the daily superintendence of the missionary, and in the regular observance of the ordinances of religion, it may be expected that, by the Divine blessing, some of them, at least, will experience the saving power of the gospel, and that others will return to their parents so far impressed with its truth and importance, as to be disposed to use their in-

* See Appendix A.

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fluence in promoting missionary operations among their people.

Testimony to the useful results of this mission is borne by the whole colony, even by its bitterest enemies. "The orderly and industrious lives of hundreds of the once-untutored heathen," states Mr. Macbriar, "are the sign of our ministry being the work of the Lord. Some of the merchants, who could freely rail against methodism, nevertheless desire to have methodist servants to keep their store-houses, and fulfil other offices of a trust-worthy character. And many a bright spark of intellect and genius has been elicited from the once spell-bound mind of the barbarian. Knowledge has begun to increase apace, and all the best artisans of the colony are members of a religious society. Several children in the girls' school have professed their faith in the Redeemer, and discovered the true signs of a converted heart. These children are a credit to the whole colony, whilst the neatness of their apparel and the piety of their behaviour at once betoken the place where they have received their instruction."

The Lindoe-Morgan village on MacCarthy's Island, built by the "Institution for benefiting the Foulahs and other Aborigines of Western Africa," presents a pleasing aspect. All its inhabitants are members of the Wesleyan Society. An increased portion of land is cultivated; and, during the present year, it is expected that gardens will be laid out and managed in the European style.

The number of church-members in the MacCarthy's Island circuit is 254; the number of scholars, 119.

In the autumn of 1834, the Committee of the

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Wesleyan Missionary Society were induced to send a missionary on a visit of observation to the Gold Coast, where, at Cape Coast Castle, a people were already prepared of the Lord. The Rev. Joseph Dunwell was appointed to this interesting station, and the mission soon assumed a most promising appearance. A Christian society was formed, and the erection of a suitable chapel was commenced; but, alas, how uncertain is life, and especially in Africa! in the midst of these delightful labours and anticipations yet more cheering, Mr. Dunwell was attacked with fever and died.

But the arrival of the Rev. Thomas Freeman, early in January 1838, revived the drooping spirits of the newly-formed religious community, who had continued stedfast in their profession. The chapel at Cape Coast was built, the natives manifesting the most active zeal in the work. During the rains, a large part of the wall, which was composed of swish, was washed down; when the native people and children carried no fewer than four thousand pieces of stone from the distance of a mile, for the purpose of repairing the breach; and fetched four thousand bundles of a particular kind of grass from a place six miles distant, for the purpose of thatching the roof, which had been sent from England.

This mission has since extended itself to Anamaboe, Winebah, Domonasi, Salt Pond, Comanda, Abasa, British Acra, Mansu, and other places. In the first six of these localities, chapels have been built, chiefly by the exertion of the natives. At British Acra, a promising society has been formed, and a school has been undertaken. A prosperous school has also been established at Mansu. At these several stations, between six and

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seven hundred natives have renounced the idolatry of their ancestors, and are now united together as members of the Wesleyan society; and nearly three hundred children are receiving a religious education in the mission schools.

The beneficial effects of this mission are very conspicuous. Superstitious fetish practices are superseded, to a considerable extent, by the adoption of the holy and rational observances of Christianity. The change of conduct is so manifest, that heathen parents and masters are alike constrained to acknowledge it, and confess the happy tendency of missionary instruction. Polygamy, one of the greatest evils in African society, yields to the influence of the gospel; while the husband no longer lives alone, and sends to his wife her meals in a separate house when he has finished his own repast; but both dwell in the same habitation, and, with their children, eat together at the same table. The husband does not now devolve upon the wife the heaviest burden, but labours for the support of the family; and she devotes herself to domestic duties. A taste for the comforts and conveniences of European life has been introduced, and many native families have adopted the English mode of dress, and furnish their houses in the English style.

The effects produced on the minds of the heathen in the surrounding neighbourhood, by these salutary changes, are also becoming strikingly manifest. They begin to admire the improved social condition of their neighbours, often calling their town "a white man's croom;" and, as a natural consequence, they are now feeling, in some measure at least, a little respect for

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that religion which has been the cause of so beneficial a change.

The spirit of industry and the desire for improvement which have been excited, are strongly evidenced by the fact, that many of the Christian natives applied to Mr. Freeman to obtain for them, while he was in England, the means of introducing an improved method of agriculture, and such other assistance as would enable them to advance more rapidly towards a state of civilisation.

To this it may be added, that the influence of the mission is steadily exerted in promoting the cause of freedom. The missionaries constantly inculcate on the chiefs the Christian doctrine, that all souls are of equal value in the sight of God; and that a subordinate station in society does not stamp him who fills it with an essential inferiority. Facts are not wanting to show that their labours in this respect have not been altogether in vain.*

The mission to the Gold Coast has originated another, the importance and ultimate destination of which it is impossible to calculate.

In the year 1839, Mr. Freeman, encouraged by some favourable assurances of the disposition of the king of Ashanti, resolved to visit Kumasi, the capital of his dominions. The history of this expedition is extensively known, from the published journals of this African apostle. In the result, a mission to Ashanti has been

* See Beecham's "Ashantee and the Gold Coast" for further particulars of this mission,—a volume to which the writer is indebted for most of these statements.

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commenced under the most auspicious circumstances. The king has furnished land for the erection of premises suitable to the accommodation of the missionaries. A religious society of converted Fantees, has been formed, and many Ashantis not unfrequently, including some of the king's household, attend Divine worship, and are seen paying serious attention to the Word of Life. A school has been begun in Kumasi, and although yet viewed by some of the chiefs with jealousy, is in successful operation. One of the king's nephews has not only made considerable progress in reading and writing, but manifests a strong desire to renounce the dark and cruel superstitions of his country, and become a Christian. He has already begun to teach his own people; because, as he says, if knowledge be good for him, it must be good also for them.

The king continues to evince great kindness for the missionaries; and at the date of the latest communication, he had sent a message to the mission house, signifying that he purposed to attend Christian worship there, on the following Lord's day. In the same letters another fact is mentioned, illustrative of the beneficial influence which the mission is exerting on the mind of the king. He dressed himself one day in European costume, and proceeded in the carriage presented to him by the Wesleyan missionary committee, to the sacred town of Bantama. According to custom, a human sacrifice would have been offered upon the occasion; but the king forbade it, saying to the executioners, "I am going to travel in white man's way, and dress in white man's way, and we must adopt white man's fashion, and not kill a man to day."

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Honourable testimony is borne to the operations of the Wesleyan society, in this part of West Africa, by the West African Committee of the House of Commons, who embody in their report the following high eulogium in reference to them.—"We would here acknowledge" say they, "the great services rendered to religion and civilisation, on this coast by the Wesleyan body. They have even established a friendly communication with the barbarous court of Ashanti, which promises results important in every way; and indeed little in the way of religious instruction would have been done without them."

Besides the recently formed mission to Ashanti, the Wesleyan society is now directing its attention to Badagry—the very spot from which Lander beheld the horrid fetish tree referred to, in a preceding part of this volume.

Mr. Freeman, with Mr. and Mrs. De Graft, landed on this part of the coast, on the 24th of September, 1842, and met with a very kind reception. They immediately proceeded to erect mission premises, and make the necessary arrangements for the prosecution of the work. In a recent letter, Mr. Freeman writes, "Every thing concerning this mission promises fair, and is still going on remarkably well. I cannot but admire the gracious providence of God, in sending us down here, at this important point of time. One hundred and fifty more emigrants from Sierra Leone, have just arrived, and I hope we shall be able to obtain for them, parcels of land from the chiefs, so that they may settle at Badagry."

As many of the earlier emigrants from Sierra Leone

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had gone into the interior, Mr. Freeman resolved to pay them a visit. Having arrived at Abokuta, a large town containing forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, situated about one hundred and twenty-five miles N.N.E. from Badagry, he found there a great number of the emigrants, whose Christian conduct was making a favourable impression upon the public mind. He was very kindly received by Sodaka, the king; and writes that both the king and the people are most anxious that a mission should be established at Abokuta.

Besides Badagry and Abokuta, Mr. Freeman, in connexion with this journey, visited the great and barbarous empire of Dahomy. He was admitted to the capital, and obtained an audience of the king, by whom he was received, and treated with every demonstration of kindness and confidence. In conversation, Mr. Freeman explained to this distinguished prince, the real object of his visit, assuring him that the operations contemplated in Badagry, were purely of a religious and not of a political nature. He seemed well satisfied, and intimated his wish that a mission should also be commenced at Whydah.

Thus are new fields of missionary labour in Africa daily presenting themselves. Truly the harvest is plenteous! It seems only to be waiting for the church to thrust in the sickle and gather it into the garner of the Lord.*

The following is a summary of the Wesleyan missions in Western Africa—missionaries, nineteen; church members 3,594; teachers, forty-three; scholars, 2,104.

* Appendix B.

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SECTION III.

Before proceeding to notice the newly-established mission of the Baptist Missionary Society, on the island of Fernando Po, we may take a hasty glance at the labours of foreign missionary societies, on the West African continent.

Our American brethren have for many years been engaged in the prosecution of missionary work in this part of the world.

The Protestant Episcopal Church has a mission at Cape Palmas. At the primary station, there were in 1840, twenty-six communicants, and thirty male, and twenty female scholars. Besides this, there are two out-stations; one of these is at Graway, where there is a school containing fifteen pupils; the other is at Cavally, having in connexion with it, a school which contains thirty-seven children and adults. Of the pupils at the several stations, more than one hundred and ninety-seven are maintained at the mission, being entirely withdrawn from the influence of heathen parents.

At Cavally, the public religious services have been attended with increasing interest, about two hundred being usually present. The natives, at large, are said to manifest a disposition to suspend their labours on the sabbath.

In connexion with the principal station, a native town under Christian influence, is in progress. Six houses have been built, and in part occupied, adding much to the cultivated appearance of the mission grounds.

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A mission was also established at Cape Palmas, by the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS. The principal station is Fair Hope. There were, also, three out-stations,—Rocktown, Middletown, and Sareka.

Some considerable progress has been made by the missionaries, in reducing the Grebo language to a written form. A dictionary and some elementary books have already been printed, and the latter extensively circulated.

Religious knowledge is said to have been increasing among the people. Many of them have thrown aside their grigris, though it is feared the gospel has not all the ground thus lost to superstition.

In 1842, "the Board" came to the resolution to remove this mission to a station remote from the influence of the American colony of Maryland, with which up to this time it had been associated. The principal reason assigned for this procedure is, that "the leading object of the colony and that of the mission, are far from being the same, and that there is too much evidence that the colonists, as a body, regard the missionaries and their enterprise, with ill-will." In this, we have another added to the many demonstrations which the history of colonisation has given, that so far from tending to promote the civilisation of aboriginal tribes, it operates so as directly to retard its progress.

Among evangelical Christians in Germany, notwithstanding that vital godliness has been so extensively superseded in that land by a cold and heartless philosophy, the claims of Western Africa have not been altogether forgotten. Most of the early missionaries of the Church

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Missionary Society were members of the Lutheran church. In 1827, the GERMAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY determined to send out a mission of six brethren to this part of the world. Three of these were to proceed to the Gold Coast, and three to Liberia. They had all been three or four years in the missionary seminary at Basle, and were ordained at Auggen, in the grand duchy of Baden. One of this Christian band died from accident prior to his embarkation for his appointed sphere of labour. The rest were scarcely permitted to enter upon their work; and after a series of vicissitudes and trials, and the death of all except one, the effort was abandoned. It has since, however, been renewed with much promise of success.

SECTION IV.

IN the month of July, 1840, the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society announced their determination to unite their energies with those of other denominations, for the evangelisation of Western Africa. In the October month of the same year, the Rev. John Clarke and Dr. G. K. Prince were invited to undertake a pioneering expedition, to explore the proposed field of labour, and take the necessary preliminary measures for settling a small band of missionaries with the least possible risk of life and freedom. Mr. Clarke had long and usefully toiled as a missionary in Jamaica, and Dr. Prince had for some years, with great reputation and success, practised in the profession of medicine in that island; where, also, he became the recipient of Divine grace, and manifested his sincerity by costly

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sacrifices of a temporal kind. They had both been residing in England for some time, and the former was on the eve of returning to the beloved people of his charge in the West Indies.

Having acceded to the wishes of their friends, without delay these devoted brethren embarked on their perilous enterprise. They obtained a passage by the *Golden Spring*, and immediately set sail for Fernando Po, which they reached in safety on the first day of the new year.

Fernando Po is situated about twenty miles from the mainland, in the Bight of Biafra, and commands the mouths of those great rivers, which penetrate so deeply into Central Africa, along the coast from the Rio Volta to the Gaboon. It is twenty-four miles in length, and sixteen in breadth. The splendid scenery of this beautiful island, to persons coming from the low marshy shore of the continent, is indescribable. It has three ranges of hills running parallel to the north-east side, the centre rising into a conical volcanic mountain, to the height of 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. To the north-east, the lofty peak of the Cameroons, rising to the immense height of 14,000 feet, throws its shadow half-way across the narrow strait that separates the island from the mainland: while the numerous little promontories and beautiful coves that grace the shores of the bay, throw light and shadow so exquisitely upon the water, that one almost can imagine it a fairy-land. On the west, the spectator looks down almost perpendicularly on the vessels in Clarence Cove, which is a natural basin surrounded by cliffs of the most romantic shape, and a group of little islands, which nature seems to have thrown in to give a finish

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to the scene. Looking inwardly towards the island, the peak is seen covered with wood to the summit, with its sides furrowed with deep ravines, and here and there a patch of cleared land, showing like a white spot in the moonlight. The island is exceedingly fertile; the soil is composed of a fine deep black and brick mould; it abounds in many species of large and fine timber, fit for ornamental or useful purposes; and it is capable of producing, in the highest perfection, not only every article of tropical produce, but also many kinds of European fruits and vegetables. The climate is highly spoken of. The shores, with hardly an exception, are free from those swamps on the coasts of the mainland, around the mouths of rivers, which generate the fatal malaria which proves so destructive to the health and life of Europeans; and when the land shall be cleared and cultivated, the climate, we may reasonably expect, will be found as salubrious as in the elevated parts of Jamaica. The island, moreover, is free from hurricanes, and abounds with excellent spring water, the fine streams running from the mountains to the sea in beautiful waterfalls and cascades, down to its bold coasts.

The population of Fernando Po is estimated at from twelve to twenty thousand, and is chiefly composed of a tribe, called Adeyas, vulgarly demominated Bubies. They are a timid, inoffensive people, not so covetous as the Africans generally are, and kind to such as go among them in a friendly way; but among themselves they sometimes have war, and fight with the long wooden spear and the knife. Though dark in their minds, and disgusting in their habits, there is a simplicity and a childish good-nature belonging to them, which engage

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both the compassion and confidence of an observer. Their language is poor, but soft and gentle, and not difficult to acquire.

The missionaries, having reached this interesting African isle, at once proceeded to their appropriate work among its benighted inhabitants. They located themselves in the place of their landing—the town of Clarence, which contains 170 houses, besides seven large houses then belonging to the African Company. Adjoining is another town, called Kru-town, composed of seventeen houses. There are supposed to be about a thousand people in both these places. The population of Clarence is of a very mixed character. When Dr. Prince furnished his "Analytic Summary," in April, 1841, there were—two from Atta or Idda; five, Appa; eighteen, Aku; three, British Acra; twenty-five, Bimbia; one, Bidjie; one, Brass; one hundred and fifteen, Bubies; fifty-three, Cameroons; forty-six, Calabar; twenty-six, Congo; eight, Cape Coast; six, Cape Sahon; five, England; ninety-three, Ibu; one, Guru; one, Germany; eighteen, Gabun; eight, Haussa; two, Jaloff; one hundred and ninety-two Krus; four, Cape Palmas; one, Mandingo; one hundred and fifty-eight natives, (not Bubies); five, Otano; one, Popo; nine, Prince's Isle; one, Scotland; eighteen, Sierra Leone; two, St. Thomas's Isle; six, United States; one, Vy. Some of these had been formerly connected with the methodist society at Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cape Coast Castle, where they had often felt serious convictions under the preaching of the gospel, and, in a few cases, had learned to read and write. Many of them could speak English.

Here, therefore, on the first sabbath of 1841, Mr.

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Clarke opened his commission as a minister of Jesus Christ. His first congregation consisted of about two hundred and fifty people. On this spot he and his companion continued their more stated labours during the period of their residence in Fernando Po. They did not, however, confine themselves exclusively to any one locality. As health and other circumstances allowed, they traversed a considerable portion of the island, visiting the different Adeyá towns, and declaring to the people, by means of interpreters, the words of eternal life. Among these, though fearful at their first approach, they usually met with a kind and confiding reception, and, not unfrequently, had large and attentive auditories.

It was not, however, designed that Fernando Po should engage all the time and energies of these zealous labourers. They had ever had their chief thoughts directed to the continent to which it was adjacent, and had even contemplated penetrating far into the interior districts. This they were unable to effect. But they availed themselves of the earliest opportunity of visiting the coasts. Here they had to encounter difficulty, arising from the avarice and licentiousness of the chiefs; but they also met with great encouragement. In one town, five hundred persons assembled to hear the gospel. The scene, as sketched by Dr. Prince, was one of surpassing interest. The king, habited in a rich scarlet silk around his loins, which formed a striking contrast to his glossy jet black skin, was seated before his door. On his left, was a large group of his chief men and numerous sons. Those in the front squatted, flanked and supported in the rear by others on their feet.

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At a little distance, on his right, were some of his fifty wives, gracefully ornamented with large beads of various colours, dispersed around their heads and about their persons. Then, on every eminence, and forming a large circle around the missionary, were parties of anxious expectants of his address—youths, Zacheus-like, mounting the trees. The whole party were on a considerable height, looking down upon the majestic stream that presented upon her bosom many of England's boasted traders. The sun was rapidly declining, ere Dr. Prince concluded; and after the large company, rising as one man, had carried by acclamation, that penetrated far through the circumambient air, the proposition to send them a minister to reside amongst them or near them, he turned to the beauteous moon then rising full in sight of all, and told them, that the God who made that orb for their accommodation by night, had heard their vow, and would record it. In other places the disposition of the people was quite as favourable, and their desire to have a missionary settled amongst them was equally strong.

Before leaving the shores of Africa, these honoured brethren had the happiness of witnessing many pleasing and satisfactory results, as the reward of their self-denying toil. Bible classes were established—a school was opened with seventy children—seventy persons were anxiously inquiring the way of salvation—and a church, composed of five members, was formed. The church has since been increased to forty-four. There are now about sixty catechumens, and a regular congregation of more than five hundred persons connected with this station.

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But, wherever Christianity extends, it not only conveys instruction, which makes man wise unto eternal salvation, but it raises the social character of a people, and improves, in all respects, their temporal condition. When the mission to Fernando Po was commenced, there were upwards of a hundred avowed examples of concubinage, and only six black couples married; but before the missionaries took their departure, they had joined seventy-eight couples in matrimonial bonds.

When Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince reached Fernando Po, they found the people suffering the most cruel oppressions. The agent of the African Company, contrary to the most express directions which he had repeatedly received from his employers to treat the natives with humanity and kindness, had reduced them virtually to a state of slavery. He exacted from them whatever he chose, and made them believe that he had a right to exercise over them supreme control. In order to enforce his exactions, he had recourse to the most barbarous modes of punishment. In a cut across a narrow point of land, is a dungeon, the eaves of which are level with the surface of the ground. It was some time before the missionaries could get to see the interior of this place; and when they did, what a spectacle of horror did they behold! A human being was seated on the ground. Around his neck was a chain, suspended from a beam, and fastened on him by a padlock which hung upon his breast. A similar chain was attached to his waist, and fastened to the wall. Fetters had been rivetted by the blacksmith on his hands, and fetters, in like manner, had been rivetted on his feet. In this condition Dr. Prince and Mr. Clarke beheld

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him. And by such cruelties had this wicked man held these poor creatures in bondage to himself.*

Mark the footsteps of the missionaries, and the blessings which follow in their course! The people complained of their oppressions to these messengers of mercy. "Why do you submit?" was their reply. They thought they were obliged. They were assured that they were free, and that this man had no right to control them. Their eyes were opened. They acted upon this advice. The fellow knew his position. His authority was gone, and before Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince left the island, the doors of the dungeon were thrown open.

In making these statements, however, the gentlemen composing the African Company must be exonerated from blame. No sooner was the case known to them, than they gave it the fullest investigation; showed, by letters of correspondence, that they were in total ignorance of the perpetration of such atrocities; and they at once dismissed from their service a man so utterly unworthy of any trust in which the rights of humanity are concerned.

The subsequent history of this mission may be briefly summed up. In the month of February, 1842, Dr. Prince and Mr. Clarke left Fernando Po, intending to return immediately to England. But being overtaken by a fearful tornado, they were compelled to change their course, and steer for Jamaica. Having made a tour of that island, they took their departure, and landed in England in the early part of September.

* See Appendix C.

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About the date of their leaving Fernando Po, Mr. and Mrs. Sturgeon, sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society, reached there; and taking up the delightful work which they were relinquishing, continued to prosecute it with unwearied assiduity.*

A few months since, Mr. Clarke again sailed to Jamaica, for the purpose of seeking a supply of black and coloured agents; and also to conduct to Africa a band of zealous and devoted men, who, though not altogether qualified for missionary work, are desirous of returning to the land of their fathers; and, while supporting themselves by their own labour, are willing to lay themselves out, as opportunity may offer, for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. Dr. and Mrs. Prince, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Merrick, and Alexander Fuller, all from Jamaica, and who left England shortly before Mr. Clarke's departure, arrived in Clarence, Fernando Po, in safety on the 6th of September, 1843. On the 1st of December, Mr. Clarke and his companions sailed from Jamaica for Fernando Po. The following is a list of the persons who embarked:—Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, Mr. Saker (assistant missionary), Mrs. Saker, and child. Teachers—Mr. and Mrs. Bundy; Mr. and Mrs. Norman, with four children; Mr. and Mrs. Gullimore, with two children; and Mr. A. Duckett, Misses Stewart, Davis, and Cooper. Samuel and Joseph Fuller, to join their father Alexander Fuller, referred to above. Settlers—Mr. and Mrs. Trusty, with one child; Mr. and Mrs. Phillips, with one child; Mr. and Mrs. Duffus, with

* Appendix D.

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two children; Mr. George Williams, John Gordon, and Mr. and Mrs. White—in all forty-two.

The committee of the Baptist Missionary Society express the hope, that four missionaries, with at least eight teachers from Jamaica, will be employed in regular mission work at Fernando Po and the coast of the neighbouring continent.

There are some features of characteristic interest connected with this mission, which claim a distinct notice. It owes its origin not so much to British Christians as to the fervent zeal of our Jamaica brethren. As long ago as the 1st of January, 1839, the Baptist missionaries in that island memorialised the committee on the subject, affirming, that "a feeling prevailed among the members of their churches in reference to it, to check which, would be to injure their piety, and, we believe, would grieve that Divine Spirit by whose gracious influences those feelings had been excited." So settled, indeed, was the determination, both on the part of the pastors and their flocks, that a mission to Africa should be begun, that had not the committee at home responded to their appeal—which, however, when the whole case was before them, they were fully and heartily prepared to do—they would assuredly have commenced the work themselves.

This mission, again, has been formed on the avowed principle of chiefly employing negro agency to sustain it. The evangelisers of Africa must be Africans. In the full conviction of this, Jamaica is principally looked to, to carry on the work.

The remarkable manner in which Providence appeared in raising up individuals pre-eminently qualified

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to begin the enterprise, deserves especial remark. Mr. Clarke, from his long residence in Jamaica, possessed a constitutional fitness to which few could lay claim. The state, and wrongs, and claims of Africa had, besides, weighed heavily on his mind for many years; and without suspecting to what purpose his knowledge was to be applied, he had acquired a larger amount of information on the subject, probably, than any other of his brethren. Dr. Prince had, not many days before the wishes of the committee were made known to him, made a renewed and solemn consecration of himself to God; so that when he became acquainted with them, the coincidence was so striking, that it seemed as though the Almighty had heard and accepted his vows; and how could he do otherwise than give himself up to a work in which it was so manifestly His pleasure he should engage? His residence in the West Indies, as well as his long experience in the practice of medicine, combined with an ardent and enthusiastic temperament of mind, gave him a special adaptation.

The starting point, moreover, from which the mission has been commenced, affords reason for congratulation and thankfulness. Fernando Po possesses many advantages. The comparative salubrity of its climate eminently fits it for a recruiting station. The line of coast to which it is adjacent, has no missionary settlement for many hundred miles on either hand. Commanding the mouths of the Niger, and those of other great rivers, it affords great facilities for communication with the interior. Accommodated as the missionaries will be with a small schooner, the negro Christian labourer, at least, may ascend these magnifi-

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cent streams, and spread, far and wide along their banks, the knowledge of salvation. Oh for the glorious day when, as the fruits of such efforts, churches of Christ shall be planted in every land through which these many waters pursue their winding course!

One other circumstance, connected with this mission, claims attention. On reaching the island on which the missionaries fixed their abode, they found a people ready to receive their message, and able to appreciate the great design of their visit. One of this number had long been desirous to have a missionary residing amongst them, and was on the point of proceeding to the nearest missionary settlement to seek the accomplishment of his wishes. Hence, no sooner had they entered on their labours, than fruit began to appear, and in a few months they were surrounded by some who, having received the grace of God themselves, were willing to become fellow-helpers to the truth.

Such a combination of circumstances to favour this new undertaking for the evangelisation of Western Africa, constrains us to look upon it with the most pleasing anticipations of its future and triumphant success.

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CHAPTER XII.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF DIFFUSING CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA—IGNORANCE OF COUNTRY—NUMEROUS LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS—CLIMATE—PAST EXPERIENCE FURNISHES USEFUL HINTS FOR PRESERVATION OF HEALTH—CLIMATE LIKELY CO IMPROVE AS CIVILISATION PROCEEDS—EUROPEAN AGENCY MAY BE EMPLOYED SO AS TO EFFECT, COMPARED WITH THE PAST, CONSIDERABLE SAVING OF MISSIONARY LIFE—NATIVE AGENCY TO BE CHIEFLY RELIED ON—NATIVE AGENTS TO BE OBTAINED FROM SIERRA LEONE, MISSIONARY STATION ON THE COAST OF AFRICA, AND WEST INDIES—THESE PROMISE TO INCREASE IN NUMBER AND EFFICIENCY.

The introduction of Christianity to Western and Central Africa is a work which will, it must be confessed, be attended with difficulties of the most formidable character. As far as the experiment has been tried, it has proved so. It is, however, to be remarked, that pure and undefiled religion can advance in no direction in our sinful world in which it has not difficulties to encounter; so that, in offering obstacles to the entrance and spread of Divine truth, even Africa is not peculiar. Besides, we are encourged by the assurance, that whatever may be the magnitude of the difficulties against which the "glorious gospel of the blessed God" may have to contend, they cannot be too great for its omnipotent Author to overcome.

It is also to be considered, that the same difficulties

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which oppose the introduction of Christianity, lie in the way of every other scheme for the regeneration of Africa. This very fact constitutes a powerful reason why Christianity should undertake the work. What other agency is so strong to contend against opposition? Where other agencies have left the field, scarcely having made an assault upon the foe, Christianity has followed and come off triumphant; and who shall say, the impotency of all other schemes being demonstrated, the same heaven-born system shall not be equally victorious in Western and Central Nigritia? At all events, whatever difficulties may resist us, either in the onset or in our progress, it behoves us boldly to look them in the face, and, availing ourselves of every facility which Providence may afford, to go forward, leaving the results to the great Disposer of all events.

The difficulties in the way of the introduction of the gospel to Africa, independently of those which belong to its moral and social condition, arise chiefly from our ignorance of the country—the numerous languages and dialects spoken by the natives—and, above all, the deadly nature of its climate to Europeans.

SECTION I.

In relation to the first of these difficulties, it may be remarked, that however deficient our acquaintance with Africa may be, and although our stock of information may be very small, compared with what remains to be acquired, yet we are in the present day far better informed, than we have been at any preceding period.

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Modern discovery has added vastly to our store of geographical knowledge, in reference to this once almost totally unexplored continent, and this is still receiving almost daily augmentation. Of this M'Queen's "Geographical Survey"—a work which will prove of incalculable service to all future expeditions, of whatever kind, to Africa—is sufficient testimony. Besides, enough both of the coast and of the interior is known, for the commencement of our exertions. Happy, indeed, would it be for this benighted country, if the church of Christ were prepared to occupy every opening which now offers itself; and well assured we may be, that as we are in readiness to advance, God will discover to us the road. To this it may be added, that much as men of science and enterprise have accomplished in exploring the continent of Africa, the Christian missionary will, in all probability, do much more. Sustained by the principles of religion, and borne along by the love of souls, he may be expected to traverse regions which the man of the world, whether white or coloured, has never found sufficient inducement to tread. It may be confidently affirmed, that the missionary, acting in accordance with the peaceful character of his high vocation, may travel amongst the semi-barbarous tribes of Africa, with greater personal security than any other man. In support of this, may be mentioned a fact, related to the writer by the Rev. John Clarke. He and Dr. Prince were making a missionary journey, through some part of the Cameroon district. In a little while, they perceived a company of men armed with spears. As they drew near, these assumed a menacing attitude, and as they approached them yet more closely, they laid

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their spears upon the ground, and intimated by signs and gestures, that if they continued to advance it would be at their peril. Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince had only their walking-canes in hand, and were unable, from ignorance of their tongue, to hold converse with them. However, defenceless as they were, they still moved towards them, smiling, holding out their hands, showing that they had not even weapons of defence, and assuring them, in every possible way, that their intentions were pacific. The timidity of the natives subsided; they took their spears from the ground, allowed the missionaries to shake them by the hand, and presently hailed them as their friends. So much for the principles of peace, and the cheerful confidence of Christian fortitude, in journeying through Africa; and hence, the greater advantage possessed by the missionary, in visiting its unknown regions.

From these and other conditions, Mr. Wilberforce many years ago avowed it as his opinion "that if the interior of Africa was ever explored, we should be indebted for our discoveries, to the aid of our missionaries."

SECTION II.

The languages of Africa, or their dialects, are very numerous,* and in few instances have been reduced to writing. The church missionaries have translated the gospel of Matthew, in the Mandingo, Bullom, and Susu

* Among the Bornuese, it is said that thirty distinct languages are spoken.

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languages; and these translations have, by the help of the Bible Society, been printed. In these languages, also, as well as in those of Aku and the Sherbro, grammars and lesson books have been printed by the agents of the Church Missionary Society. And very recently the first eight chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, have been translated, and the English-Timanee dictionary and vocabulary has been completed, as far as the letter M. To this it may be added, that during the Rev. J. F. Schon's residence in England, he completed and carried through the press, a grammar and vocabulary of the Haussa language—the fruit of his voyage up the Niger, while accompanying the Niger expedition. Lessons in Woloff were prepared some years since, by Hannah Kilham, a member of the Society of Friends, who also collected vocabularies of several African dialects. The American missionaries have written elementary books in the Greybo and Bassa languages; and the Rev. R. M. Macbrair, of the Wesleyan Society, has published a complete grammar of the Mandingo. Besides these, numerous vocabularies have been prepared by travellers and missionaries; a copious one of the Fantee is published by Mr. Beecham, in his "Ashantee and Gold Coast."

But these comprise nearly all that has been done towards giving a written form to the languages of Western and Central Africa. Succeeding missionaries have, therefore, a great work to accomplish, before they can give to the teeming millions of this continent, the Word of Life in their mother tongue.

This, however, presents no difficulty which may not be easily met and overcome. Missionaries in other

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lands, have learnt to speak with many tongues, and beyond a doubt, assisted by the same Spirit, and influenced by similar motives, to the exercise of the same persevering industry, they will acquire the like facility in Africa. If the agents of one society—the Baptist Missionary Society,—can in the space of fifty years, translate the word of God into upwards of forty different languages and dialects, and these spoken by five hundred millions of people, who shall despair for Africa?

There are, moreover, some circumstances in reference to language, in this part of the world, which promise greatly to facilitate the labours of the missionary.

Many of the liberated Africans in the colony of Sierra Leone, retain a knowledge of their native dialects. In the island of Jamaica, also, a considerable number of the natives of Africa still survive. In connexion with the baptist church at Salters Hill, there are no fewer than 318 Africans:—Kooromantes, 26; Eboes, 134; Papaws, 19; Bondus, 13; Mandingoes, 7; Warnee, 2; Kongos, 54; Guineas, 51; Chambas, 7; Nangos, 5; Haussa, 1; Moko, 9. The greater part of these remember their native tongue, and a selection from such, though they may not be qualified to fill the office of preachers, may, as interpreters, and in other ways, render important service to the Christian labourer.

Another favourable circumstance in regard to the languages of Africa, is, that numerous as they are, a few of the principal are understood, more or less, over a great part of the country. The Mandingo, for example, is known through nearly the whole of the more western districts, and the Aku has been found to be understood by the great majority of the captured negroes in Sierra

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Leone. A knowledge of these, therefore, will afford to the missionary, a means of communication with a multitude of nations, scattered over a surface of many thousands of miles.

It is also worthy of remark, that in the interior, Arabic is used as a written language, in the ordinary intercourse of life. The Moors have introduced it in mercantile affairs, and moslem zeal has made it the sacred and literary language. Through Arabic translations of the scriptures, and Arabic preaching, the missionary will, among the more wealthy and intelligent at least, be always understood, be the native dialect what it may, in most of intertropical Africa. This removes many difficulties that would otherwise render missionary usefulness slow and remote.

It is a well known fact, moreover, that on the coast of Africa, great numbers of the natives are possessed of a considerable acquaintance with the English language. Many of the Krumen speak it familiarly, and, as appears from a letter addressed to the committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the governor of Badagry has a good knowledge of it. To this it may be added, that there is a great eagerness on the part of the natives on the coast, generally, to acquire English for purposes of trade. Insomuch is this the case, that wherever missionary schools are established, abundance of children may be obtained, to receive instruction in them. In this encouraging fact, a wonderful facility for missionary communication is afforded; and it is perhaps a question, whether, at no very distant period, the English language may not be universally spoken, along the coast of Western Africa. The results likely

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to be consequent upon such an event, are incalculable; for, the English language once acquired, the whole of its literature might pour its light, and exert its elevating influence upon this portion of dark and degraded Africa.

SECTION III.

But the climate of Africa, has hitherto been the most formidable difficulty which has lain in the way of every benevolent effort for the benefit of this unhappy country. Africa has proved the grave of missionaries, and the land of death, to Europeans generally.

In many instances, the Christian labourer has scarcely placed his foot upon her soil, when he has sunk under the effects of her climate. During the first fifteen years of the operations of the Church Missionary Society, no fewer than thirty of its agents died. In the year 1825, seven missionaries were removed by death, being a number equal to that of those sent out. In the space of thirty years, one hundred and nine individuals sailed for Western Africa, in connexion with this society; and at the expiration of this period, only five missionaries and two catechists were left of the whole number.

The mortality which has attended the various trading and exploring expeditions to Africa, has been in the same proportion. In the expedition of Laird and Oldfield, out of forty-eight who went out to Africa, only eight returned. In the Niger expedition, forty-one individuals died in sixty-four days.

Viewed in connexion with such facts, the climate of Africa, as an obstacle to the progress of the gospel,

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becomes a subject which requires the most serious consideration. Scarcely any thing short of the high claims of Christianity, could warrant so vast an expenditure of human life; nor would less than the all-powerful principles of the gospel, sustain the perseverance of the church, in a work which involves so large a sacrifice of the choicest of its members.

We need not be surprised, that statesmen should shrink from appointing officers to civil service in Africa. Worldly policy seeks only the attainment of secular advantages; but Christianity occupies a different position—is engaged in a vocation of infinitely greater moment—aims at a more exalted object—is impelled to seek its accomplishment by more potent motives—and is strengthened in the prosecution of its work, by principles which defy all difficulties, brave all dangers, and triumph equally either in life or in death.

This it is which has constrained our missionary societies to go forward for more than thirty years, in their costly and self-denying efforts for the evangelisation of Africa. And hence it is, that as one band of devoted men after another, have fallen in their enterprise of mercy, a succession of "holy brethren" have been found, in the same spirit of self-consecration, to fill up the vacancies which death has occasioned—not counting their lives dear unto them, that they might win souls to Christ.

And these have not laboured in vain. Nearly two hundred missionaries have been, it is true, sacrificed to the cause of Africa. But many thousands of Africans have been converted; and, attaching all due importance to the amount of success vouchsafed in other parts of

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the world, it may be fairly questioned, whether any missions have yielded a more abundant harvest, or have rendered accessible more glorious and extensive fields of usefulness, than those which have been carried on in Africa. In this, therefore, we have the most evident tokens of the Divine approbation, and an ample reward for all the life and property which have been expended.

Providence is now, however, interposing to remove the obstacle to the progress of the gospel which the climate of Africa has hitherto offered, and is supplying the means of evangelising it at a much smaller expenditure of missionary life.

1. It is to be observed, in regard to European agency, that although no precaution will afford to the white man a full protection from the effects of an African climate, yet the experience of the past furnishes many hints for the preservation of health even in Africa. There can be little doubt that many lives have been shortened, and some wholly sacrificed, through inexperience and consequent imprudence. The missionary has not been sufficiently informed as to the habits he should adopt—the diet on which he should subsist—the hours during which he might labour with least danger to health—the seasons of the year when caution is most needful—and the immense importance of husbanding his strength under this feverish and enervating climate.

An experienced labourer in Western Africa remarks upon the death of a missionary—"New comers, just arrived with full European strength, think themselves competent to greater labour than the climate will allow; and, in consequence, expose themselves more than they

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should do on their first arrival." "Activity in Western Africa and in England," writes Mr. Macbrair, "are two different things; and any person who shall endeavour to perform the same degree of labour in the former as in the latter country, will eventually find to his cost that he has made a grievous miscalculation. It is this misconception which often leads to such fatal effects amongst Englishmen in Africa. The missionary sees a wide field of action before him, and he labours to do all the good he can 'whilst it is called the day.' His zeal props up his exhausted strength, and he continues to work extravagantly upon his moral excitement, until disease supervenes, and his exhausted frame sinks under an otherwise not fatal disorder."

Such statements, it is conceived, demand from missionaries, about to labour in Africa, the most attentive consideration,—testifying as they do, on the one hand, that many valuable lives have been sacrificed for the want of using those precautions which experience has taught to be indispensable to any measure of health or length of days in Africa; and, on the other hand, that by availing ourselves of that instruction which dearly bought experience now affords, we may, under the Divine blessing, hope that, while European agency shall still continue to be required, its employment will be attended with a smaller expenditure of human life. Thirty years' experience has supplied much useful information in relation to the management of European constitutions under an African climate; and the journals of missionaries have bequeathed to their successors many valuable hints which they will do well carefully to treasure up and diligently to regard.

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2. It is also encouraging to believe that, as civilisation advances, the deleterious influence of the climate will, at least in some measure, be subdued.* We are not so unreasonable as to suppose that the climate will ever undergo so essential a change as to render it salubrious to the constitution of the white man. But still it is not only possible, but certain, as the civilising process proceeds, that it will considerably improve.

The pestilential malaria, most fatal to Europeans, is well known to be generated more particularly in marshy districts, and is, with good reason, supposed to be originated by the decomposition of vegetable matter. Now, as the work of civilisation goes on, marshes will be drained, and the country will be cleared of its superabundant vegetation. Two of the principal causes of malaria, therefore, being removed, is it unreasonable to expect that the salubrity of the climate will, in proportion, be promoted?

In proof of this, it is to be observed, that the mountains in the vicinity of Free Town, in Sierra Leone, being now cleared and cultivated, the settlement is said to be as healthy for European residents as any other tropical climate. "Not only are febrile and other *climatorial* diseases less prevalent than formerly, but their type is of greater mildness."†

3. It is also to be considered, whether such agency, as may continue to be needed, may not be employed under such regulations as to secure, compared with the past, a considerable saving of missionary life.

* See Appendix E.

† Martin's History of the British Colonies, Vol IV. p. 573.

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The adoption of some method for "seasoning" the Christian missionary, prior to his entering on his labours in Africa, is a subject which claims the most serious attention. The West Indies appear eminently adapted to this purpose. They would, besides, afford him an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the African character, which would not fail to give him a decided advantage in prosecuting his work in the negroes' father-land. If European agents for Africa could be selected from among those who have resided for some years in one of our Western islands, it would certainly be desirable; and whenever this is impracticable, it would be of important service if they were allowed to take up their abode there for a temporary period.

It is possible, also, that some mode of acclimation might be pursued on reaching the shores of Africa. The use of the tepid bath, it is thought, might be of essential service in this respect. The taking of excessive heat into the system, is said to be one great source of derangement to European health in countries of a high temperature; and that fever is the natural process of accommodating the constitution to the change necessary to restore the disturbed equillibrium of animal heat. Fever, therefore, it is considered, may be frequently avoided by resorting to such an artificial process as the use of the tepid bath—thus working out a habit of rapid accommodation in the system.*

There is, also, another subject which deserves especial notice. The agents of no society labouring in Africa

* See article on Animal Heat, in "Todd's Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology."

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have escaped the inroads of death. Those of the Wesleyan society, however, have been more highly favoured than any other. "There has not," it is stated, "been the same mortality among the Wesleyan as among the church missionaries, from the arrangement which the Wesleyan society have adopted with reference to their agents,—which was, to retain no individual in this prejudicial station longer than three years, and even this time was shortly afterwards limited to two years."*

In this fact, an important practical lesson is communicated; and it is for other missionary institutions, who do or may carry on their operations in this part of the world, to consider whether it is not incumbent upon them to adopt a somewhat similar arrangement. Instead of the missionary remaining at his post till illness drives him from it, how much better would it be for him, by a change of climate and rest from labour, to seek the reinvigoration of his constitution before disease had made its dreadful inroads! A return to England might not always be necessary,—a visit to the Cape, or a voyage to the West Indies, and a short residence in the one or the other of these might, in most cases, be all that would be required; after which, renewed both in physical strength and mental energy, the labourer might return to his toil in Africa.

If expense be urged as an objection, it may be replied, that it is very questionable whether, when the cost of filling-up the repeated vacancies which death occasions, and of conveying home the surviving mem-

* See Missionary Records—Africa, by Religious Tract Society.

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bers of the departed missionary's family is taken into account, the expenditure of such a plan would be much greater than at present pursued; and, at all events, many valuable lives—which are of greater price than gold—would be spared to the church of Christ.

SECTION IV.

But, after all, nothing will render Africa a healthful residence to Europeans; and no arrangement that can be adopted will make the European missionary's labours there other than the most perilous. If, therefore, Africa is to be evangelised, and yet European life is to be spared, another agency must be employed.

1. An agency, in every way suited to the climate, may be found in the persons of Africans themselves, or their immediate descendants. These are to be obtained from the West Indies, from Sierra Leone, and from other British settlements on the coast of Africa, at which missionary stations have been established. Of this we have ample evidence.

The liberated Africans in Sierra Leone, and the converted negroes in the Western Islands, evince the deepest interest in the spiritual welfare of their father-land. Considerable numbers have emigrated from Sierra Leone to Badagry; and, in doing so, have taken with them elementary school-books, slates, Bibles, and Testaments; and, at their instigation, both the church and the Wesleyan missionary societies have contemplated the establishment of a mission in that country. Those still remaining in the colony, in connexion with the

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Wesleyan society, have commenced a subscription among themselves to assist the committee in this important undertaking. In Jamaica, especially, does the strongest solicitude prevail for the diffusion of the gospel in Africa. "The people make its conversion to God the theme of their prayers, and the object of their most ardent desires." Meetings, of from one to three thousand persons, have been repeatedly held in favour of missions to Africa, at which the utmost enthusiasm has prevailed, and the most liberal offerings have been made. This applies not merely to one denomination of Christians, but to all. The desire for the salvation of Africa is universal.

Not only, however, are the converted negroes exercised with the most anxious concern for the diffusion of the gospel in the land of their fathers, but many of them are willing to consecrate themselves to the work of proclaiming it. To this, indeed, the testimonies are so numerous, that selection is difficult. Mr. Lorn, superintendent of the Jamaica Moravian missions, in a letter, dated May 19th, 1842, writes,—"Several young men have come forward and volunteered to be trained for missionary work in Africa." Native agents, both for schoolmasters and missionaries, are educating in the "Christian Institution" in Sierra Leone, connected with the Church Missionary Society. The Rev. John Beecham states, on behalf of the Wesleyan society, that the Gambia, as well as Sierra Leone, and more especially the Gold Coast, have furnished several valuable native agents who only need instruction to fit them for important service. Two young men have been recently brought to this country for special instruction, one of

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whom is at present receiving private tuition, and the other has commenced the usual course of study at the southern branch of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, as a preparation for entering upon the work of an assistant missionary among his sable countrymen. The Baptist Missionary Society, also, in connexion with their newly-established mission at Fernando Po, have two descendants of Africans from Jamaica already employed. The Rev. John Clarke is now, as stated in a former page, on his way to Africa with others; and a considerable number are pursuing a course of study for missionary labour in the Baptist Theological Institution at Calebar.

Here, then, is an agency, suited to the climate of Africa, glowing with the most intense concern for the salvation of its people, and willing, as the missionaries of the cross, to engage in the work of promoting it.

2. There is every reason to believe, that this agency will continue to increase, both in number and efficiency. Our missionary societies are fully alive to the supreme importance and imperative necessity of its employment. The committee of the Church Missionary Society are making arrangements for the enlargement of their Christian Institution, in Sierra Leone, for the education of native teachers. The report of the Wesleyan society, for the present year, states that the missionaries are laudably exerting themselves in training native agents. The Baptist Missionary Society has now its native college in Jamaica; and it is expressly on the principle of chiefly employing a native agency that it has commenced its operations in Fernando Po.

The growing intelligence of the negro population of

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Jamaica, affords yet further ground for encouragement in regard to Africa. The advances which the people have already made in knowledge, are matter of daily astonishment and praise. But from the rising generation yet larger expectations may be reasonably cherished. Schools are established in connexion with every Christian congregation. Some of these give instruction in the higher branches of learning, and, ere long, it is confidently hoped that Jamaica will boast its university college, in which may be studied the whole range of language, literature, and science. Thus shall a larger number, being first of all sanctified by the grace of God, be endowed with high mental qualifications for the office of Christian missionaries to the land from which their fathers came.

8. The way in which this agency has been raised up is the most wonderful of which it is possible to conceive. It is the prerogative of the blessed God to bring good out of evil, and so to overrule the most untoward events as to make them work together for the accomplishment of the greatest and most glorious results. Perhaps there is no part of the Divine administration, in relation to our world, in which this more conspicuously appears than in the providing of a suitable agency for the evangelising Western and Central Africa. About three centuries ago, the African slave-trade commenced its horrid career—a career so essentially barbarous and wicked, and so fraught at every stage of it with cruelty and crime, that nothing short of a Divine prediction could have constrained us to believe, that ought but evil could ever result from it. That God, however, who sees the end from the beginning, permitted

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it. In process of time the system peopled our West India islands with the unhappy children of Africa. While there, enduring the galling yoke of slavery, the Christian missionary visits them. Multitudes receive his message, and, although held in bondage to man, become the free men of the Lord. At length the day of their temporal deliverance draweth nigh—Christianiy breaks their chains, and they become the possessors of a twofold liberty. Having found deliverance themselves, they sigh and cry for the salvation of their father-land, and earnestly desire to proclaim the year of gospel jubilee to their brethren and sisters there. These are the mysterious, but Divinely glorious results of the working of the foulest system which the history of human depravity records. In the results of this very system, and from amongst those people whom, with the ruthless hand of cruelty and blood, it had torn from their native land, we have an agency provided to convey to it the blessings of gospel light and freedom.

After the accursed slave-traffic had been allowed to pursue its course, and had stained with its bloody and atrocious deeds the flag of so-called Christian nations for more than two centuries, the indignant voice of British humanity and insulted Christianity rebuked and denounced it; and, at length, as far as Great Britain was concerned, abolished it. Still, under the connivance of other European states, it continued to pursue its deadly course. The most stringent laws were consequently enacted for its suppression, and British cruisers were empowered to capture the slave-ship with its inhuman cargo. An asylum was provided for the unhappy beings who might be liberated from these holds

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of death. A district upon their own continent was fixed upon for this purpose, and Africans, thus rescued from the grasp of the slave-master, now form the colony of Sierra Leone. Here, under the instruction of Christian teachers, they have become acquainted with the "glorious gospel of the blessed God;" and, having proved it Divinely powerful in their own salvation, cherish, like their emancipated brethren in the West Indies, the deepest solicitude for its diffusion among the teeming millions of their own countrymen.

"This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." God has raised up an agency which fully meets, and promises, under the Divine blessing, triumphantly to overcome the greatest obstacle—that arising from the climate—which has hitherto laid in the way of the extension of Christianity in Africa.

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CHAPTER XIII.

SPIRITUAL NATURE OF THE WORK—CONVEY THE GOSPEL, THE GREAT DUTY OF THE CHURCH—RENOVATION OF AFRICA IN THE HANDS OF THE CHURCH—CONSIDERATIONS WHICH CONSTRAIN THE CHURCH TO LABOUR IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, APPLY WITH EQUAL FORCE TO AFRICA—AFRICA HAS SPECIAL CLAIMS—BRITISH CHRISTIANS PECULIAR ADVANTAGES—DEMANDS ALL THE CHURCH HAS TO AFFORD.

1. THE church of Christ is, at all times, in danger of losing sight of the spiritual character of the high vocation to which she is called. But, "independently of the danger to which we are naturally and always liable, the present day has dangers peculiar to itself. The claims upon us, as the benefactors of mankind, are not, as formerly, passed by in contempt, or summarily dismissed by the world, as mischievous or chimerical; but hence the danger of lowering our tone as the servants of the Most High God, and of aiming to make out a case for its commendation, which will compromise our fidelity to him. Our claims are not only canvassed by the world generally, but partially patronised by the great; but let us remember that, if they have not the mind of Christ, that which constitutes the true destinction and glory of our object, is 'far above out of their sight,' and that what they admire in it, are merely its outward

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accidents and adjuncts. Nor do we now occupy the field of benevolent activity alone,—a philanthropic philosophy professes to join us, to aim at the same end with ourselves, and to be emulous of excelling us in benefiting mankind; but let us remember that our own proper work is unique—that we cannot contest with a worldly philanthropy, without coming down from our high vocation, and forgetting that our great aim is not the temporal, civil, or social improvement of mankind, but their spiritual recovery to God." *

These remarks have a peculiar appropriateness in relation to Africa. Perhaps, there is no field of labour throughout the world, in reference to which we are in greater danger of overlooking the spiritual nature of our work. The temporal miseries of Africa, the cruelties of the slave-trade, and the barbarities connected with the sacrifice of human victims—are constantly appealing to our sympathies; and there is danger, therefore, lest instead of regarding these as the type of her spiritual wretchedness, we should simply consider, and only aim to relieve the physical calamity they involve. Africa is the chosen field of this world's philanthropy, and very recently, with a zeal the most commendable, has it been engaged in seeking, by all the instrumentality it could command, to alleviate its woes. At the same time, however, convinced of the superior efficacy of the gospel, it is confessedly looking to that, as the great means of its deliverance. There is danger therefore, lest, captivated by these flattering circumstances, the church of Christ should forget, or not sufficiently feel, in labour-

* Dr. Harris's "Great Commission."

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ing for Africa, the spiritual character of its agency, its work, and its end; and content itself in seeking to become the temporal regenerator of this unhappy country, instead of aiming to bring it back, as a revolted province of the Divine government, to allegiance to the Majesty of Heaven.

It should, however, be borne in mind, that the temporal blessings which the gospel is found to bestow, will only result, as the spiritual designs of the gospel are sought and realised. If therefore, we rest, in only seeking the temporal good of Africa, our object, even in this respect, will be frustrated, and our labour will be in vain. We must feel that Africa is perishing, not only for this life, but, in an infinitely more dreadful sense, for that which is to come. We must feel that the salvation of Africa is to be desired, not only for its own sake, but for the sake of God and of Christ. We must feel that, as long as Africa remains sunk in misery and crime—alienated from God, that God is dishonoured, and the Redeemer lives without seeing the travail of his soul—the fruit of his sufferings, so as to be satisfied. In this spirit, and for this object, it is, that the church of Christ must labour for Africa.

2. It is also to be borne in mind, that in the prosecution of this spiritual object, the great duty of the church of Christ in relation to Africa, is to convey to it the gospel. It has, it is conceived, been abundantly proved, that the gospel is the only sufficient remedy for Africa. On whom, then, does the application of this remedy devolve? Unquestionably upon the church. Christians are the only qualified agency on earth to employ it. The world may applaud the gospel, for the

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temporal benefits it confers, but of its character as a spiritual machinery, for the accomplishment of a spiritual work, it has no just apprehension. The great designs of the gospel are far beyond the ken of this world's vision. The world is ignorant of the great principles on which it works, and the method which it pursues in carrying on its operations. It cannot overlook wonderful results, but it is an utter stranger to the spiritual process by which they are produced. The labour, therefore, of diffusing the gospel—the pure and unadulterated word which saves the soul—must, from the very nature of the case, rest exclusively in the hands of the church.

The communication of the gospel, moreover, is the work which appropriately and distinctively belongs to the church. Christians will, indeed, as far as they are under the influence of that benevolent spirit which their religion inspires, sympathise in every scheme of philanthropy for the amelioration of the condition of mankind; and, as far as they can do so consistently with higher claims, they will lend to it their co-operation and support. Still, the work of the church of Christ is unique. "For to me, to live," said the apostle Paul, "is Christ." The church, besides the maintenance of its own piety, has but one object,—and that is, to win souls to Christ; and the gospel is the only legitimate instrumentality it can use in seeking to accomplish it. This is the sword of the Spirit—the chosen weapon by which all His triumphs over the hearts of men have been won, and by the employment of which the Redeemer, in due time, shall be fully glorified. Whatever plans, therefore, worldly wisdom

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may devise for benefiting the unhappy children of Africa, the duty of the church is plain—her course is clearly marked out—the mode of her operation is distinct from every other, and peculiarly her own. The great duty of the church, in relation to Africa, is to convey to it the glorious gospel of the blessed God, humbly and prayerfully depending upon the Holy Spirit to accompany her efforts with his effectual blessing.

3. If these observations be just, another remark obviously follows, which claims our most serious consideration. It is this,—that the work of Africa's moral renovation lies, as far as human agency is concerned, in the hands of the church. If the gospel be the only sufficient remedy for Africa, and if the church be the only agency competent to apply it, to evade this conclusion is impossible.

How solemnly responsible, therefore, is the position which the church of Christ occupies in relation to this part of the world! Is Africa, for the most part, under the dominion of the most savage despotism? It is for the church to rescue her from the grasp of tyranny and oppression. Is Africa a land of slaves? It is with the church to snap the chains of their captivity, and set them free. Does Africa trade with other nations in the flesh and blood of her own population? The slave-trade waits the fatal blow which the church alone can strike, before the monstrous system of inhumanity will expire. Is polygamy universal in Africa—poisoning, like a deadly venom, the very vitals of its social constitution? The church of Christ, holding in possession that gospel which teaches, as one of Heaven's earliest

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laws to man, that he should be the husband of only one wife, can alone restore to its primitive intention the marriage institution. Is woman in Africa reduced to a condition the most degraded? The church of Christ, by introducing the ennobling principles of Christianity, can alone raise her from the dust, and make her, in herself and in man's estimation, what she ought to be. Is it true, moreover, that Africa is chargeable with almost every crime which has disgraced other parts of the heathen world? The gospel of Christ opens the only efficacious fountain for sin and for uncleanness; and it is for the church of Christ to conduct the polluted children of Africa to its purifying streams. Once more—is the religious condition of Africa in perfect accordance with her moral and social state? does the standard of the false prophet wave over one part of this vast continent, and are the cruel rites of paganism deluging with blood the other? The only way in which these systems of falsehood and iniquity can be extirpated is by the introduction of a better faith—and that is the faith of the gospel; which its Divine Founder has delivered to his church, to maintain and extend; and which, therefore, it rests with that church, under his blessing, to diffuse in Africa. Above all, is Africa, together with all the nations that forget God, under Divine condemnation, and treasuring up for itself wrath against the day of wrath? It is for the church to publish, amongst the teeming millions of its perishing population, the glad tidings of salvation, and to point them to that refuge, from the righteous vengeance of Heaven, which mercy has provided in the person and work of our adorable Redeemer. The renovation—the

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salvation of Africa, as far as the Almighty has established a necessity for the employment of human agency in the work, rests with the church of the living God.

Nothing is more important to Africa than that Christians should feel this. The case of Africa needs to be laid upon the conscience of the church. Christians must rise to a due sense of the dignity and responsibility of their position in relation to this portion of our fallen world, and being convinced that the work of rescuing it from its existing distresses, under God, is in their hands, they must come forward to engage in it. The Holy Spirit will, assuredly, accompany their efforts with all the plenitude and power of his Almighty influence—Africa will be blessed, and the Redeemer will be glorified in its conversion and salvation.

4. Our next remark is, that every consideration which binds and constrains the church of Christ to send the gospel to other parts of the world, applies, with equal force, in relation to Africa.

Is it true, that God has so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son to die for its salvation? Then Africa constitutes one division of that world, and is fairly comprehended within the pale of Divine mercy. True, it has for ages rested under the pall of Jehovah's special curse, and the angel of death has had full commission to destroy; but, in the midst of wrath, God has not forgotten to be gracious. The purposes of his love extend even to Africa. Thousands of her afflicted sons and daughters, both in our western islands and on their native shores, are, at this very hour, rejoicing in his favour. In this fact we have the most cheering indications of the pleasure of the Lord towards the

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whole of their unhappy race, and see the dawning of that day when Divine Love shall pour forth all the treasures of its goodness upon them, and bless them with the light and liberty they need. The church, therefore, should be touched with the same compassion which moves the heart of God. Her bowels of mercy should yearn over Africa with His; and as God, both by the intimation of his Providence and the declarations of his Word, proclaims His will that Africa shall be saved, the church, like the obedient messenger of his grace, should go forth and publish, from one extremity of the continent to the other, the joyful sound.

Is it true that the Redeemer has given it in commission to his church, to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature? And is it therefore imperative upon the church to send the gospel to India, publish its message in the thickly populated cities of China, and to bear its blessings to the islands of the Pacific?—then it is equally binding upon the church to introduce it to Africa. Africa constitutes one division of that world to which the Saviour's commission relates, and embraces no fewer than one hundred and fifty millions of those rational, accountable, and immortal beings to whom he has commanded that his gospel shall be proclaimed. Nor will the church have fulfilled her trust, and executed the great commission of her sovereign Lord, till every tribe along the shores of Africa, and every nation of her interior districts, and the inhabitants of every oasis in her extensive deserts, shall have heard of that faithful saying, so worthy of all acceptation, that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

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Is it true, moreover, that wherever the church has laboured for the spread of the gospel, her success has been mostly in proportion to her efforts? and does this consideration afford us the most powerful and encouraging motive to continued and increased exertion? It applies, with all its force, in relation to Africa. Upwards of twelve hundred communicants, as the result of the labours of the Church Missionary Society in Africa, and nearly four thousand in connexion with the Wesleyan Society, bear ample testimony to this. The language of past experience, in the work of African evangelisation, is, "Go forward." The earnest of the Divine blessing is already enjoyed, the first fruits of a glorious harvest have been reaped; and it now only needs that more labourers should enter into the field, and an abundant crop will speedily be gathered into the garner of the Lord. Labourers, suited to the work, God himself has provided; and it is at the peril of his people, as the stewards of his spiritual household, that they refuse to send them forth.

Is it true, that all the blessings which the church has been instrumental in conferring, by the diffusion of the gospel in other lands, have been abundantly returned into her own bosom?—and is this a motive to persevering and increasing effort? This consideration also applies, with equal force, in relation to Africa. Of late years, especially, no portion of the human family have so stirred up the sympathies, and aroused the energies, and called forth the activities, of the church of Christ, as the children of Africa. Their wants and woes have excited her commiseration, and have brought her, as the intercessor of the miserable,

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to the mercy-seat of Heaven; and in proportion as she has prayed and laboured for Africa, as well as for every part of our fallen world, has she realised the blessedness, in watering others, of being watered herself. Would we enjoy more of this blessedness? — then Africa, together with every land in which the gospel of salvation is unknown, must have a livelier interest in our supplications, and a larger measure of our zealous and devoted exertions.

Is it true, that God has promised to the Redeemer, the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost part of the earth for his possession? Did this promise sustain him under the accumulated sorrows of his dying hour; and, upheld by it, did he endure the cross, and despise the shame? Does his church confide in it? Is she sympathising with her Lord and Saviour, and longing and waiting for its fulfilment? Does she believe that all events are tending towards its realisation,—her own trials and the world's convulsions, as well as the great spiritual agencies which are expressly employed to bring about its consummation? And do these considerations stimulate and encourage the church in her supplications and exertions, wherever she is now labouring to extend the kingdom of Christ?—The same motives apply with equal force in relation to Africa. Africa is no inconsiderable portion of the inheritance promised to the Son of God. In the Divine covenant it is given to him. It must be his. The day must come, and is now rapidly advancing, when every tract of this great continent, now almost exclusively under the dominion of the "god of this world," shall become the possession of Christ, and all the millions

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of its people shall bow to his sceptre, and confess that he is Lord to the glory of God the Father. The hopes, the efforts, the prayers of the church, ought to be directed, with the most intense solicitude, to Africa, until the Divine promise be fulfilled, and the Redeemer shall take to himself his great power and reign.

5. Our next remark is, that Africa has some claims upon the church of Christ peculiar to itself. Some of the evils with which she is afflicted, constitute such a claim. Slavery exists in other heathen lands, but in none, perhaps, so extensively as in Africa. Other countries have their slave-trade, but in none is it associated with so immense a sacrifice of human life, and with enormities so great as in Africa. Almost every nation upon earth, at its great festivals and on occasions of extraordinary calamity, has offered its human sacrifices; but in Africa, human blood is daily watering the graves of the dead, or satiating the fury of imaginary deities. Where other nations, in the sacrifice of human victims, have slain their thousands, Africa has slain its tens of thousands; while by none have these deeds of blood been perpetrated under circumstances more horrible and revolting. But the existence of these evils has already urged its powerful appeal in the former chapters of this work, and therefore we need not dwell upon them here.

Some of the sorest injuries, moreover, under which Africa groans, have been inflicted by so-called Christian nations. In little more than a single century, from the year 1680 to 1786, 2,130,000 negroes were imported into the British West Indies alone. This, again, gives to Africa a special claim upon the church of Christ. Nothing short of the introduction of the gospel, in all the purity of its unmingled bene-

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volence, can, in the estimation of Africa, vindicate the honour of the Christian name. She has been accustomed to call the white men, who have encouraged her to pillage, and destroy, and capture her children, and sell them for sordid gain, CHRISTIANS. What a lie upon the holy, the merciful religion of Jesus! In the esteem of the African, who has had no better teaching, what must be Christianity but a system of cruelty, instead of love—of injustice and oppression, instead of righteousness and truth? It is, then, for the church of Christ to vindicate the injured honour of her Lord and of his cause in Africa; and how shall this be accomplished but by conveying thither his gospel, to bear witness for itself—to test its purity, by dissipating scenes of revelry and vice—to prove itself a system of justice, by instructing the natives of Africa in its golden rule of doing to others as they would that they should do unto them,—and to demonstrate itself to be a system of mercy, by scattering among these children of sorrow and oppression the blessings of peace, and joy, and salvation.

Besides, as under the Christian name Africa has been injured, it behoves the church of Christ to render the best restitution in her power for the wrongs she has received. For more than three centuries has the *Christian* slave-trade—as by a horrible desecration of that hallowed name it has been called—been prosecuted by nominally Christian men. The amount of injury which, in this long period of time, has been inflicted on Africa, is incalculable. That the restitution should be great is unquestionable; and what sufficient recompense can we offer to Africa, for all the wrongs she has suffered, short of the introduction of Christianity? A recompense

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this, indeed, will be! It will bind up her wounds—it will heal her diseases—it will restore her to soundness and to health. Yea, moreover, in the discharge of this debt of justice which we owe to Africa, we shall be permitted, to some extent at least, to return, in the persons of the liberated negroes of the West Indies and of Sierra Leone, her own children—we shall be allowed to constitute them the messengers of our mercy, and make them, under God, the agents of the temporal and spiritual freedom of their beloved country.

Divine Providence, by intimations which cannot be misunderstood, is directing the church to convey the gospel to Africa. The negro race, within the last few years, have occupied a more prominent place in the history of the world than any other upon the face of the earth. An uninterrupted succession of events, rapidly following one upon another, have transpired to favour their interests. We have seen how God, in his own way, and by a method of which human sagacity would never have conceived, has been raising up, from the natives of Africa or their descendants, a class of agents who are destined, under the Divine blessing, to become the regenerators of their country. We have seen with what eagerness they are already pressing forward to the work which Providence has evidently assigned to them, and how they promise, both in number and efficiency, to increase. We have, besides, the most convincing evidence that there is an awakening among the natives of Africa themselves. They have begun to contrast their condition with that of the white strangers, who, for the purpose of legitimate commerce or other lawful objects, visit their shores, and, in many instances, their bosoms burn with the most intense

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anxiety to advance in the social scale, and receive the instruction which is needful to enable them to do so. In a letter, to Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., from Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, commander of the Niger expedition, this distinguished officer states, "In my late visit to the Niger, both chiefs and people called loudly to have instruction sent to them. Their consciousness of their own inferiority, combined with a desire for improvement and knowledge, was very remarkable." It is cheering, moreover, to know, contrary to the fears of some, that the natives of Africa are willing to receive instruction from their own countrymen. The Rev. Mr. Schon, church missionary, who accompanied the Niger expedition, makes the following statements in confirmation of the fact:—"The object of my coming and my desires were explained to Obi, the king of Ibo, by myself and my interpreter; when he expressed an earnest desire to have teachers sent to him and his people. He most readily confessed that he was ignorant of God, and dependent on white men for instruction. I directed Simon, a liberated African of Sierra Leone, to read some verses of Scripture to him, which astonished him not a little. That white men should be able to read and write, he expected as a matter of course; but that an Ibo slave should read, was more than he could ever have expected. He seized Simon's hand, squeezed it most heartily, and said, 'You must stop with me—you must teach me and my people—you must tell it to the white man; I cannot let you go until they return from the country.' He could not be diverted from his object, but insisted on Simon's remaining,—to which, after much consideration, we

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agreed. This occurrence proves that the objection so raised, that the Africans would not listen to their own country people if they were sent to them with the gospel, is perfectly groundless. The king of Ibo is willing, yea anxious, to hear of the wonderful works of God, from the lips of one of his own country people, formerly a slave." To this, it may be added, that fresh openings for the introduction of the gospel in Africa, are continually presenting themselves. Independently of the colony of Sierra Leone, in 1821 the Wesleyan society commenced a mission at St. Mary's, on the Gambia. In 1833, a missionary was stationed on the island of M'Carthy, on the same river. In 1835, a mission was established at Cape Coast. In 1840, this mission was extended to Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti. Towards the end of the same year, the baptist society commenced their promising mission on the island of Fernando Po. In 1843, a mission settlement was formed, under the direction of the Wesleyan society, on the coast of Badagry. Cheering openings, also, present themselves in the interior neighbouring districts, and the king of Dahomy has invited Christian teachers to settle on the borders of his dominions. Thus, all events are evidently conspiring to promote the welfare, and to favour the evangelisation, of this long neglected, sorely injured, and deeply degraded portion of our race.

Another fact remains to be noticed. We have seen, that not only is mohammedanism already widely diffused in Africa, but that it is, at this very hour, rapidly spreading on every hand. Nor, recently, have its priests contented themselves with the spoils of paganism, they have even ventured, in their excursions, on the

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very borders of missionary settlements in the colony of Sierra Leone. In a dispatch, addressed to the secretary of state for the colonies, in the month of December, 1839, by Sir Richard Doherty, then governor of Sierra Leone, we have the following statements. "My attention has been for some time directed to the extension, which, I regret to inform your lordship, the mohammedan faith begins to obtain in this colony, among the liberated African population, and to the more open and ostentatious observance of its rites, by persons of that class. These converts have chiefly established themselves in the north-east suburbs of Free Town, on two locations, called Foulah Town and Fourah Bay, where they possessed, until lately, two large and conspicuous mosques, of which one is still standing, and where, to the number of about one hundred families in each place, they live in the open practice of polygamy, and, of course, in the open contempt or violation of the Christian sabbath, to the great scandal of the Christian community surrounding them, which itself has always been distinguished and orderly in no common degree.

"From these locations they send out their emissaries into the town and the country districts, where they propound and insinuate their faith among the ignorant natives; seeking at the same time to propagate it by terror, and the use of pretended charms and incantations. In this manner they make frequent proselytes; and in some instances in which they have proved unsuccessful with the adult population, they have at last had the address, by threats or persuasion, to procure from them their *children* and *apprentices*, who are sent, as I am informed, into Free Town, in considerable

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numbers, to be nurtured and educated in their faith, and employed by them in domestic services."

The continued and rapid spread of mohammedanism, presents the most cogent reasons for prompt and vigorous exertions, in the propagation of the faith of the gospel. Islamism is, in some respects, superior to paganism, but in many others, it tends rather to perpetuate than to remove the worst evils which we deplore. Nor is this all. The very superiority of mohammedanism over paganism, gives it a stronger hold upon the mind. So that it is more difficult for Christianity to supplant the former than the latter. The poor pagan, when he becomes a moslem, imagines that he has found the true religion, because he discovers his new faith to be, in a few points, better than his old one. His teachers instruct him to consider all who are not of the same persuasion as himself, as infinitely beneath him, and thus, instead of attending to the Christian missionary with the docility which might formerly have distinguished him, he disdains him. Hence, wherever the faith of the false prophet is established, the people are entrenched behind a delusion, more difficult of attack, and the gospel has a harder battle to win. We are assured, that whatever difficulties Christianity may have to encounter, it will ultimately triumph. Nothing can resist the will of Omnipotence. But surely the obstacles to the progress of truth in Africa are already sufficiently great! What unspeakable folly, therefore, must it be, to allow them time to increase in magnitude; for though Christ must reign, new and growing impediments may retard his career of victory, and in the mean while, the prince of darkness will be leading myriads

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captive at his will, and thus be securing their eternal ruin. How important, then, that the church should at once arise "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

6. The case of Africa appeals to the whole church of the Redeemer. There is not a section of the great body of believers throughout the world, to which it does not address its claims. British Christians, however, possess peculiar advantages for the evangelisation of this benighted land, and on them the work especially devolves.

The enlightened views of the Christians of Great Britain, on the subject of slavery, constitutes one of these advantages. Africa is a land of slaves, and the atrocities of the slave-trade are hourly deluging it with blood. Slavery and the slave-trade are the monster evils of this vast continent. No man is qualified to labour in Africa with distorted views on this subject; nor can any body of Christians, of pretensions in other respects ever so lofty, be relied on to prosecute the work of Christianising Africa, while they do not wash their hands in innocency of the enormous guilt of holding those, who are bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, in bondage.

The Christian missionary, must be the sworn foe of oppression, and the unflinching friend of the oppressed. The spirit of the religion which he teaches requires it. He cannot preach Christ's gospel while he appears in any other character. If he attempts it, whatever doctrines his lips may utter, his conduct will be a libel upon the truth as it is Jesus. That is all benignity and love. Faithfully, therefore, to declare it, the missionary must not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking

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flax. He must bring forth judgment unto truth. He must bring out the prisoner from the prison, and them that sit in darkness from the prison-house. The manifestation of such a spirit will speak to the hearts of the people amongst whom he may toil, and will be, in their estimation, a stronger attestation to the Divine origin of his religion, than if he should call down fire from heaven.

But who, that has imperfect views of the awful sin of man's enslaving his fellow-man, can exemplify this spirit in Africa? But on this subject, thanks be to God! the minds of British Christians are clear, and of this great crime, their hands are now clean. The British missionary goes forth to his work with the vows of eternal enmity against slavery and oppression resting upon him. The Christians of his native land, who support him by their sympathy, their substance, and their prayers, are of the same mind with himself, and sigh and cry for the hour, when the chain of every captive on earth shall be broken. These are the men to labour in Africa, and these are the people to send them forth.

The manner in which British Christians have identified themselves with the cause of the injured negro, gives them another pre-eminent advantage, in seeking the evangelisation of Africa. Nothing is more needful in this great enterprise, than an enthusiastic interest in it—a deep commiseration, and an intense concern for those whose eternal welfare we aim to promote—a fixedness of purpose, which will put all danger and difficulty at defiance, and will not allow us to tire or faint till the great objects which we contemplate are accomplished. But in whose hearts shall all this be found? Can we expect it in the hearts of those, who, if

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they do not hold slaves themselves, wink at the abomination in others, or at least forbear to hold it up to merited reprobation? Can the guilty participator in negro slavery pity the poor negro? Can he feel for him as a brother, and can his soul be filled with fire and energy in the work of doing him good? It cannot be. He may lend to it a cold countenance, and contribute a few dollars towards it; more he cannot do. It is not possible for him to do more. It is hard to believe, that it is in his heart to do this.

British Christians! for the present the work is yours. You have made it your own. God has made it yours. You can feel in relation to Africa, as her case demands: and hence you may labour for her spiritual well-being with a promise of success which can cheer and encourage few besides.

The close connexion which subsists between Christians of Great Britain, and the emancipated negroes of the West Indies, and the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone, afford the former yet further facility in labouring for the renovation of Africa. Great Britain, our West India colonies, and Sierra Leone, are one. VICTORIA is their common queen. The inhabitants of all three are fellow-subjects. But this is not the only, nor yet the most important bond of union. The colonists of Sierra Leone owe their liberation from the horrid hold of the slaver to the zeal of British Christians, and the negroes of the Western Islands were emancipated from a state of slavery by British piety and benevolence, at a national cost of £20,000,000. But this is not all, they have received the inestimable boon of Christianity at our hands, and never cease on this account to remember us as

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being, under God, their greatest benefactors. While we, therefore, regard them with feelings of paternal kindness, they cherish towards us emotions of filial gratitude. These are the ties that unite us. How promising a union for Africa! British Christians are best qualified to sustain and direct the work of her evangelisation. The converted negroes of Sierra Leone and the West Indies, are pre-eminently fitted to be the agents for actively and personally engaging in it, and the happy union which subsists between them, is the surest pledge of cordial co-operation.

To this it may be added, that the influence of the British name in Africa, will in most cases insure British Christians a favourable reception. The fabled story of the box and the book, in the beginning of the world, current in almost all Africa, and related in a former page, teaches the negro to look upon white men, generally, as a race vastly superior to his own, in knowledge and understanding. But the fame of Britons, in this country, rests upon a better basis. Their expeditions of discovery, have published their name from one extremity of the continent to the other. This land, moreover, has of late, at least, had experience of the better part of our character. India and China, from the prosecution of unjust and iniquitous wars, have, alas for the honour of Christianity! had to complain of our oppressions, and to feel the terror of our arms. But Africa has chiefly tasted our mercy, and beheld us as the friend of the slave, and the protector of the down-trodden and the defenceless. They have heard of the untiring efforts of British Christians to abolish the accursed traffic in human flesh, and they are not unac-

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quainted with the best proof of our sincerity, in the emancipation of the slave-bound population of our own colonies. Nor are they ignorant of the deep interest which we take, in whatever concerns the welfare of the sons and daughters of Ethiopia. And barbarous as is their condition, they are not insensible to the kindness of our intentions, and hence they hail us as their friends. Our gracious sovereign, in their estimation, is the "queen of queens" among white nations, and the Christian people of England are among the best and noblest of men.

In Africa, therefore, God has given us favour; and for what but that we may carry thither his gospel, and, by his grace, become instrumental in the regeneration of this unhappy land?

We say not these things boastingly. Britain has committed crimes in Africa for which Heaven, in righteous retribution, might lay her low in the dust. In many of her transactions with semi-barbarous nations, at the present hour, we see enough to provoke Divine vengeance, while we pray that, in infinite mercy, it may be averted. We would, therefore, with all humility, lay aside a spirit of vain-glorying. But, while this is done, the peculiar and important facilities with which Providence has distinguished us for carrying on a great and glorious enterprise, must not be overlooked. They claim our marked attention; and why? because of the weighty obligations they impose upon us. God, in giving us these pre-eminent advantages for the evangelisation of Africa, commands us, in language which cannot be misunderstood, to go forth to the work, and to devote our best energies to it.

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7. The case of Africa demands all that the church of Christ has to afford. It demands our *sympathies*. Our hearts have often sickened in the contemplation of her sufferings. But, notwithstanding all that we have felt, it may be affirmed, that our sympathies have never reached the depth of her sorrows. The moral, the social, the religious, the temporal, and spiritual state of Africa, furnishes matter for the bitterest lamentation. *"O that mine head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of this people!"*

The case of Africa demands a due proportion of the choicest and most able missionaries the church can send forth. Nothing can be more mistaken than the notion, that men of inferior powers will do for missionary work. The first requisite is piety, sincere and ardent, exemplified in a holy life and in complete consecration to the advancement of the Redeemer's cause. But this needs to be associated with a greatness of soul which cannot be found in common minds. In no part of the work are these qualifications more needful than in Africa. The field is vast—the enterprise is perilous to health and life—the difficulties to be encountered are of no common magnitude—many languages, moreover, have not only to be acquired, but to be reduced to grammatical form, and lexicons have to be compiled. This accomplished, the Scriptures have to be translated. Africa, therefore, fairly challenges all the piety and magnanimity—all the learning and intellect which the church of Christ can consecrate to it.

Her own children must, indeed, chiefly be looked to as the active labourers; and many of them, thanks be

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to God, are eager to go forth to their Divinely appointed toil. But there are departments of missionary work which they are not, at present, in circumstances to undertake. In these Europeans, for some years to come, must necessarily engage.

The case of Africa demands a large proportion of the *wealth* of the church of God. Perhaps there is no field in which missions may be carried on at so small a cost. But, however this may be, they cannot be supported without expense. The converted negroes of the West Indies have liberal hearts, and are willing to give freely of their substance for the enlightenment of their fatherland. While one portion are ready to labour as teachers and missionaries, all are disposed, to the utmost of their ability, to devote a portion of their property to the missionary fund. But the whole church, and British Christians in particular, must, according to their means, east in of their abundance to this Divine treasury. The missionary enterprise to Africa would alone more than absorb the present income of every society, if only the openings which at this very hour are presenting themselves, were fully occupied. But the claims of other parts of the world must not be forgotten. What then? why the missionary contributions of the church must be augmented, and the followers of the Saviour must give not only the surplus of their possessions, but they must learn to deny themselves, in order that they may have more to devote to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The case of Africa demands the fervent and united *prayers* of the church. Our hope is in God. It need not excite surprise, that the world should turn away

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from the complicated miseries of this land with desponding thoughts; and, had not the church a ground of confidence which the world knoweth not of, it might do the same. The recovery of Africa manifestly exceeds the utmost powers of human agency. A Divine power is needful for the restoration of this unhappy country. God himself must work. This is necessary in every part of the great enterprise. The missionary must be fired with zeal and enthusiasm kindled by the Divine Spirit. Divine energy must attend him, to strengthen and sustain him in his toil. Heavenly wisdom will be requisite in many a perplexity. It is for God so to arrange the events of his Providence, as to aid the designs of his servants, and to give them favour in the eyes of the people. God has already wrought mightily in this way, and we are wholly dependent upon Him for the continuance of his wonderful operations in this respect. Above all, it is only as a Divine power accompanies the gospel, that it will reach the hearts of those to whom it may be preached,—and to God, therefore, must we look for this efficacious influence. But in what method are we warranted to expect the bestowment of these blessings? We ask at the inspired oracles, and we are answered, "For these things will I be inquired of by the house of Israel to do them for them." If, therefore, Africa is blessed, the church of God must plead at the heavenly mercy-seat on her behalf. By sincere, fervent, and united prayer, Christians must hold up the hands of those whom they send to these dark and cruel regions. By prayer must they obtain for them the wisdom which cometh down from above; by prayer must they implore the great Disposer of all

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events to smile on their undertaking; by prayer must they seek those outpourings of the Holy Spirit, without which all our labours must be in vain.

Nor has there ever been an hour in which every member of the church of Christ was more loudly summoned to the throne of grace, to intercede for the unhappy children of Africa, than the one which is now passing away. We live in the latter days of the world. The most glorious things which God hath spoken concerning Zion, are rapidly advancing to their accomplishment. Soon shall the Redeemer triumph from the rivers unto the ends of the earth, and the heavenly chorus shall be sung, "Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." In regard to Africa, especially, the intimations of Providence are too plain to be misunderstood. "The captive exile hasteth that he may be loosed." "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." In these cheering indications, we have the strongest encouragement to approach our Father's footstool, and pray that Africa may be saved.

From the silent motions of the heart, then, when no words can be expressed—from the secrecy of the closet, when no ear but God's can hearken—at the domestic altar, whence our morning and evening incense ascends on high—and in the public sanctuary, where the great congregation assemble for prayer and praise—let our earnest supplications be offered to the God of all grace for Africa, that this wilderness portion of our world may be gladdened, and that this moral desert may rejoice and blossom as the rose.

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APPENDIX A.

THE LINDOE INSTITUTION, M'CARTHY'S ISLAND.

The object primarily contemplated by this institution was the introduction of the arts of civilised life amongst the converted Foulahs and other Aborigines of Western Africa, located in M'Carthy's Island, Gambia, and its vicinity.

In the year 1838, it was determined to erect a superior school or institution for the education of the sons of native kings and chiefs, and of native traders; and to combine, with the higher school, a subordinate one to receive some hundred and fifty children of the poorer natives,—adding the nucleus of a Foulah village, by erecting some neat cottages, trusting that the natives would be induced to take allotments for building from the six hundred acres, and, by settling there, to form an industrious, pious, and happy native Christian community.

These operations have, doubtless, benefited the natives in various ways. Thence they have learned habits of industry, with a measure of that self-respect which the exercise of it invariably induces. They have, further, gained some little knowledge of husbandry, and of the use of mechanics' tools; whilst, judging from the past,

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some of the liberated Africans located on this island, have been prevented from committing suicide, under the erroneous idea that they should thereby escape from their hardships, and find themselves restored to their country and their home.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. T. B. FREEMAN, ON A VISIT FROM CAPE COAST TO BADAGRY, YARIBA, AND DAHOMY.

DEPARTURE FROM CAPE COAST.

Sept. 19*th, Monday.*—At noon I went on board the schooner, "*Spy,*" Captain L. Huquet, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. De Graft.

AT BADAGRY.

Oct. 2*nd, Sunday.*—In the afternoon, Mr. De Graft conducted Divine service in my tent. The Christian emigrants from Sierra Leone, are nearly all residing at Abokuta, or Understone, a large town upwards of one hundred miles distant from Badagry.

16*th, Sunday.*—At eleven, a. m., Mr. De Graft read prayers and preached in our temporary cottage; and at

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half-past three, p. m., I preached. Many of the pagan natives were present in the afternoon, and seemed interested and attentive. Ferguson brings a pressing invitation to me, from Sodaka, to visit him at Understone. The following copy of a note which I received from Sodaka, written, I suppose, by one of the Sierra Leone emigrants, is a gratifying proof of the favourable state of his mind respecting a visit from a Christian missionary :—

"To the Englishman at Badagry.

"I thank you for your kind promise, that you will visit us in this country. I shall be glad to receive you; and, by the blessing of God, nothing shall harm you.

"I remain, yours truly,

"*Understone,* "Sodaka,
"*October,* 1842. King of Understone."

27*th.*—In the evening we held a prayer-meeting; after which I took down the names of several persons who were in church-fellowship with us at Sierra Leone, preparatory to their examination and formation into a class.

Nov. 6*th, Sunday.*—Mr. De Graft conducted Divine service at eleven, a. m. At four, p. m., I felt much better, and preached to a large and attentive congregation. From thirty to forty Moors were present, and behaved in a very respectful manner. After the sermon, I addressed them for a few minutes, and told them my object in visiting Badagry, and my wish to be on friendly intercourse with them: they seemed pleased with what I said.

15*th.*—We saw some messengers, who came down

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from the king of Dahomy. They say that they are glad to see us here; but I doubt their sincerity.

Dec. 2nd.—I have been busy in making preparations for a journey into the interior.

4th, Sunday.—At eleven, a. m., I read prayers, and preached to an attentive congregation. Warru attended Divine service, to my very great satisfaction. I was, indeed, delighted to see him set such an example to his people. In the afternoon, fourteen men, belonging to Sodaka, king of the Akus, arrived, to conduct me into the interior.

DEPARTURE FOR THE INTERIOR.

Dec. 5th.—We prepared to start for the interior at nine, a. m.

10th.—At Awayadi we pitched our tent, and took some refreshment; and, as we found ourselves within a few miles of Understone, we changed our clothes, expecting to make our entry in the course of the afternoon. Here we were informed, that the king, fully expecting us yesterday, had sent out a party of horsemen to meet us; but the messenger who had been sent forward from the camp had arrived, and informed the king that we were travelling leisurely along, and that he need not expect us for two or three days. This erroneous information caused some confusion; and our near approach took the king by surprise. After obtaining a fresh supply of carriers, we resumed our journey, and soon gazed on a prospect which filled us with admiration. Understone, the metropolis, appeared in the distance, stretching over hill and dale, the houses mingled with

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immense blocks of stone, which, under the powerful rays of the sun, looked as white as snow. Understone, with its fine hills covered with huge blocks of granite, reminded me very forcibly of Free Town at Sierra Leone, when approaching it from the sea. We started from Owayadi about three, p. m.; and at five, p. m. we reached Okwaru, a small village only a short distance from Understone. Here we halted, and sent our guide forward to inform the king that we had reached Okwaru, instructing him to try to make arrangements for our entry this evening, if possible, on account of the approaching sabbath. Night soon closed in, and I saw it would be impossible to make our entry this evening; we therefore pitched our tent, and prepared to settle ourselves for the night. Presently our guide returned with a kind and complimentary message from Sodaka, and stated that he (Sodaka the king) would send people for us very early in the morning.

11*th, Sunday.*—At six, a. m., some horsemen arrived to conduct us to the capital; and about seven, a. m., we resumed our journey. In half an hour we reached the outskirts of the town, after crossing the Ogu, a considerable river about seventy yards wide, running S.S.W., and falling into the sea at Lagos, about thirty miles below Badagry. The river is very low, as it is now the height of the dry season; but, during the rainy season, I should think it would have from fifteen to twenty-five feet of water in the deepest part. This morning we crossed it very easily on horseback. As we entered the town, I found it to be a much larger place than I had expected, though I was prepared to see something extensive. The streets were lined with

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the natives, who had collected together in great numbers, to witness the extraordinary scene of an English missionary visiting Understone. Their excitement was very great, and they testified the pleasure and satisfaction which they felt by the constant cry on every hand of, *Aku!* (Welcome!) We passed through several streets, very narrow and confined; and at length reached the king's residence, nearly in the centre of the town. We rode on horseback into a large courtyard, surrounded with houses having clay walls from six to ten feet high, with sloping thatched roofs extending from six to ten or twelve feet over the walls, and reaching to within three feet of the ground; forming a kind of verandah, with an earthen floor raised from six to eighteen inches above the level of the ground. Under a large verandah of the above-mentioned description, Sodaka was seated, surrounded by many of his people. We alighted from our horses, and paid our respects to him. He bade us welcome to Understone, and expressed his great satisfaction at my paying him a visit. He was seated on the floor, on a large native mat, supporting himself against a beautiful leather-covered cushion of native manufacture. He wore a handsome damask cloth thrown lightly over his shoulder, and a scarlet cloth cap with a large blue tassel on the crown of it. Before him stood a large glass bowl of European manufacture, well supplied with gora nuts. Seats were placed for us in the yard, close to the verandah; and we rested ourselves for a short time, and then repaired to our own quarters. The scenes which I have witnessed this morning will never be erased from my memory. Among the horse-

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men who came to Okwaru, to conduct us to Understone, were several of the Christian emigrants from Sierra Leone. After a long absence from their father-land, they returned, bringing the grace of God in their hearts; and had for some time been anxiously looking for a visit from a Christian missionary. I shall never forget the joy which beamed in their countenances as they seized me by the hand, and bade me welcome. "Ah!" said they in the course of our conversation, "we told the king that the English people loved us, and that missionaries would be sure to follow us to Understone; but he could hardly believe that any one would come so very far away to do us good. Now," said they, "what we told the king is really come to pass! O master, you are welcome, welcome, welcome!"

Sodaka seemed quite overjoyed; and as we were walking across the court-yard to our own quarters, he clasped me in his arms before all the people, and thus testified his extreme satisfaction. Shortly afterwards he came to our quarters, and talked with me for some time in a very free and familiar manner. "My people," said he, "told me they were sure their friends in England would not neglect them; but I feared you would not venture to come so far. Now I see you, and my heart rejoices; and as you have now come to visit us, I hope the English will never leave us." Thus did this noble-spirited chieftain pour out the warm effusions of his heart. My feelings were of the most intense character. I saw in Sodaka's open and manly countenance something which gave the seal of truth to all that he said. His remarks were not vain, empty compli-

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ments; but, I believe, they came from his heart, and were spoken in sincerity and truth.

FIRST RELIGIOUS SERVICE AT UNDERSTONE, ATTENDED BY KING SODAKA.

In the afternoon, after we had refreshed ourselves with food and rest, we held a public prayer-meeting in the court-yard. We placed our little travelling-table opposite the king's verandah, as a kind of desk on which to place our books; and, to my astonishment, Sodaka came out, and seated himself by me at the table. Nearly all the Christian emigrants were present, dressed in European clothes; and we had an interesting service. I gave a brief address, which was explained to the king in the vernacular tongue; and every thing passed off very much to my satisfaction. The child-like simplicity of Sodaka, a powerful king over a numerous people, is truly astonishing. To view him as a party in the scene already described, and then to remember that this scene took place in the midst of his capital, where he is surrounded by at least fifty thousand of his people, one cannot cease to admire his truly noble spirit.

This beautiful scene and these pleasing prospects are chiefly the results of missionary enterprise, in seconding the efforts of the British government to suppress slavery. These Christian emigrants have acted the part of the little Israelitish maid, in the beautiful history of Naaman the Syrian. (2 Kings v. 2.) They have brought with them a good report of the God of Israel, and the happy effects are strikingly visible. Let the friends of

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Africa rejoice! They have not laboured in vain, nor spent their strength for nought. Many of the noble men, who preached the gospel to these emigrants, and, by the grace of God, were the means of bringing them into the way everlasting, have fallen victims to a deadly climate, and their happy spirits are passed into the heavens; and here in Understone are the seals of their ministry,—here are their "epistles to be known and read by" thousands of Africa's sons, while the blessed results of their Herculean labours will pass down to generations yet unborn. "Let the people praise thee, O God! yea, let all the people praise thee!" Let the cold-hearted sceptic complain of the sacrifice of the lives of missionaries and their wives, in burning climes and a tainted air. The true philanthropist cannot but rejoice, though his heart may still weep over the solitary grave of the missionary in a far distant land. As for me, I bless God that I live to see this day. After

> "All my wanderings round this world of care,
> And all my griefs,—for God has given my share,"—

I rejoice that I am, under any circumstances, permitted to see this day,—these wonders which will appear in all their vital and important character in the great day of eternity! Then religion, that child of heaven, will have its due estimation; and the feeblest efforts to advance the moral well-being of our fellow-men, will rank among the noblest works in which man has engaged in every age of the world.

12*th*.—We walked out to see part of the town. Abókuta, or Understone, is by far the largest town that

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I have seen in Africa; from what I can judge, I think it is nearly, or quite as large again as Kumasi. The houses are all constructed on the same plan as the king's house, with the exception of their being smaller in proportion. There is no order or regularity in the streets; the houses are built without any attention to beauty or uniformity. In this respect, there is no comparison between Understone and Kumasi, the latter being so far superior; but Understone is capable of very great improvement. The beautiful hills and vales which the site occupies, and the noble blocks of granite rising above the houses in every direction, give it an appearance, bold, romantic, and beautiful. There are no public buildings, market-places, &c., of any importance; every principal street seems to be of itself a market-place, in which many native productions are exhibited for sale,—such as rich cotton cloths, Moorish caps, gunpowder, knives, cutlasses of native manufacture, bowls, dishes, calabashes, reels of cotton, rope and line of various sizes, fresh meat, beef, pork, and mutton, rats, (of which the natives seem very fond,) ready-made soup, palm-oil, palm-wine, a kind of beer made from the maize, some from millet, plantains, bananas, pine-apples, papaws, limes, oranges, ground-nuts, corn, yams, raw and ready-cooked, kidney-beans, sweet potatoes, roll-tobacco, and many other things.

RETURN TO BADAGRY.

20th.—At four, p. m., after considerable difficulty in getting Sodaka to consent to my departure, we turned our faces towards Badagry. Sodaka accompanied us to

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the extreme outskirts of the town, in a temporary hammock, consisting of a large damask cloth tied to a piece of bamboo. As we passed through the streets on our departure, it seemed as though nearly the whole town had collected together to bid us farewell; which I believe they did, under the influence of the best of feelings. "Good bye," said many of them as they waved their hands, "come again soon! come again soon!" Sodaka parted with us with considerable emotion, and was, I believe, heartily sorry that we left him so soon.

On my approaching the outside of the town of Badagry, I perceived that the people, as they saw me enter the town, looked upon me with mingled feelings of surprise and pleasure.

EMBARKATION FOR WYHDAH.

29th.—At a quarter past five, a. m., I arose, and prepared for joining the brig "*Queen Victoria,*" to proceed to Whydah.

Jan. 1st, 1843,—*Sunday.*—I thought it right to land at once. In the course of the day I visited the chief, who received me very kindly. I briefly told him my object in visiting Whydah, and in wishing to see the King of Dahomy.

3rd.—Early in the afternoon I had a long interview with the chief, when I more fully explained my object in visiting Whydah. I spoke of our new mission at Badagry, and my anxiety to see the king of Dahomy, to explain to him the nature of that mission, and our object in commencing it at this critical juncture, when many parts of the interior are in a state of hostile com-

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motion. I dwelt at length on the anxiety of the British government, and a great portion of the British public, to confer real and lasting benefits on the natives of Africa, by the introduction of Christianity and civilisation; and asked him whether he did not consider such sentiments honourable and good on the part of England, and worthy the attention of those whom they were intended to benefit. He said, in answer to this, that my palaver was good, and that I could go up and see the king of Dahomy, his master, and speak this palaver to him.

DEPARTURE FROM WHYDAH, TO VISIT THE KING OF DAHOMY.

March 6th.—At twenty minutes past nine, a. m., I started from Whydah for Abomi. It was my intention to start early in the morning; but I found, as usual, very great difficulty in collecting the carriers together. Some of them came, and looked at their loads, and went away, as they said, to get their food, &c., for the journey; but I soon found they did not intend to return any more. Others took the packages, and made as though they were actually starting on the proper path; but as soon as they were out of sight, they turned aside, and put down their loads. When, therefore, I mounted my horse to proceed, I soon found that I must stop, and look closely after the carriers, or I should leave some of my luggage behind. Having at length started all the people before me, I commenced my journey, accompanied by Madaka and Niawi, two of the most intelligent natives of what is called "the English Town,"

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in Whydah, who were appointed by the chief to act as guides and interpreters.

At a quarter past twelve we reached Alada, where we decided on stopping for the night; the heat being so intense that the carriers were unable to proceed further without very great difficulty.

ARRIVAL AT KANNA, THE ROYAL RESIDENCE.

10*th*.—At six, a. m., we proceeded on our way, and in about one hour we came within sight of Kanna, where the king is now stopping. Fine savannahs, stretching several miles in different directions, with here and there a large forest-tree, and the clay walls of some of the houses in the distance peeping out from among the dark green foliage of the banyan, locust, and other trees, formed altogether an interesting scene. The country is also less flat and dull in the neighbourhood of Kanna than any I have seen since I left Whydah. As we were entering the outskirts of the town, we passed within five or six yards of a gibbet, from which was suspended the body of a man. The gibbet was from eighteen to twenty feet high, and consisted of two rough posts and a beam fastened across the tops. The body was hanging with its head downwards, the legs being lashed to the beam just above the ankles. One hand appeared to be dropping off; perhaps it had been partly severed by some sharp instrument. Two or three Turkey buzzards were feeding underneath the gibbet. On inquiring, I found, that the man had been guilty of some crime which had thus rendered him

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obnoxious to the laws of the country. It was altogether a frightful sight.

Just as I had finished my breakfast, a messenger came, requesting me to proceed. We then went about a quarter of a mile farther, and stopped under the shade of a large tree. While waiting under the tree, some of the women from the king's household passed us, with pots of water on their heads; and the people were all obliged to show their respect to the king, by stepping back a few paces while the women passed. After we had rested here a short time, we heard the drums begin to play in the town, and soon saw a party of native soldiers at a distance proceeding towards us, with arms, flags, and native music. As they approached us, we moved nearer to the large tree, and collected more closely together, allowing room for the soldiers to pass round us. They then drew near to us; and I could perceive that their captain was among them, riding on a mule under the shade of a large umbrella. When they arrived close opposite to us, they halted a moment, and the chief saluted me as he sat on his mule, by taking off his hat, and gently inclining his head towards me. The hat was low-crowned and coarse, something like those worn by waggoners in some parts of England. They then made a circuit round us, singing as they went; after which the chief dismounted, and danced before me for a few minutes. This was succeeded by several of the soldiers firing a salute with muskets and blunderbusses; and then, the chief's stool being placed near me, he came and shook hands with me, and joined our party.

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The streets were filled with companies of soldiers for a considerable distance; and each party had its respective flags, banners, and umbrellas. They presented a very gay and exciting appearance. Some of their flags were European, others American. I saw Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French flags. Several of them were native. One of the latter displayed a lion, cut into a rude form, out of black or blue cloth, and then stitched to the flag, which appeared to be a kind of straw-coloured bunting. This rude figure represented a lion with its mouth open; and, to give redness to the inside of the mouth, red cloth was used. The eye was also shown by cloth of another colour, and it altogether displayed considerable ingenuity. Another of the royal flags had several black spots on a white or palish ground, and the flag-staffs were several of them decorated with a human skull-bone fastened to the top.

The first party of soldiers having joined us with their chief, another, and another, and another party succeeded the former, until we were surrounded by several captains and a large number of soldiers. When all had joined us, we prepared to proceed into the town, the chiefs and the soldiers leading the way. In about twenty minutes we arrived opposite the king's gate, where, in an extensive area of several acres of ground, beneath the shade of some fine banyan trees, a great number of captains, chiefs, and headmen were seated under their large umbrellas, surrounded by their numerous attendants. At the king's gate, the chiefs of his household were seated, with many messengers and domestics. Under the grateful shade of the banyan trees the people formed two circles, one within another,

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with sufficient space between them for our party to walk comfortably round; and we then proceeded to traverse this circle nine times, saluting the numerous chiefs and captains as we passed them. When we passed the king's gate the first time, the king's messengers, and one of the Whydah interpreters, with his people, knelt down on their knees, and took a quantity of dust and threw it on their heads; they then stretched themselves nearly prostrate on the dust, and touched the earth with their foreheads, chins, and cheek-bones, to testify their humble submission to their master, whom they believe to be the greatest king in Africa.

After we had traversed the circle nine times, I took my seat under a tree nearly opposite the king's gate, and received the salutations of all the chiefs and captains. First came Mewo, who I learned, had been appointed by the king to attend to all my wants, and take care of me. Mewo was introduced to me as my father: a lady, Yawa, of the king's household, was also introduced to me as my mother. Kabada, another chief, was introduced as my house-master, on whose premises I was to take up my temporary residence in Kanna. About thirty persons were introduced to me in this manner.

Although it seems customary among them that a stranger should not see the king at the time he (the stranger) makes his entry, yet I have no doubt that the king saw me by a kind of secret *reconnoitre*. The public entry of a stranger seems to be entirely managed by the chiefs. When we had gone through all the usual ceremonies opposite the king's gate, Mewo and Kabada accompanied me on the way to my lodgings.

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In proceeding thither, we had to pass round part of the royal premises; and as we passed the different gates, we found a chief and a party of soldiers at each gate, waiting to salute me by firing forty muskets. After passing three gates in this manner, we soon reached our quarters; and I was delighted to find that they were roomy and comfortable. After all the excitement of the day, I felt very weary, and glad to obtain a little quiet.

Some time in the forenoon, the king sent to inform me that he would see me at his residence to-morrow.

INTRODUCTION TO THE KING OF DAHOMY.

12*th*.—About eleven, a. m., the king sent messengers to inform me that he was ready to see me; and I consequently proceeded to the royal residence, accompanied by my interpreters and a few of my people. When we arrived at the gate, we found Mewo seated outside, under his umbrella, smoking his pipe, and waiting to receive us. After I had been seated a short time under one of the banyan trees, Mewo went in to the king; and a messenger came, requesting me to proceed. We passed through the gate, and entered into a large enclosed yard, from eighty to ninety yards square; and I again took my seat, under the shade of a tree, to await another invitation.

In three or four minutes the messenger returned, requesting me again to proceed; we then advanced towards another gate on the opposite side, the messengers continually saying in a low voice, in the native tongue, "May we come? may we come?"

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as they walked along in a stooping position. We then passed through the gate, and entered another yard about the same size as the other; and, on the opposite side, under a thatched verandah of considerable dimensions, sat his majesty Guzzu, king of Dahomy, surrounded by a great number of the ladies of his household, and several hundreds of female soldiers, armed with muskets and cutlasses, doing duty as his body-guard. The rude verandah seemed to be decorated for the occasion with pieces of damask, and handsome cloths, of native manufacture, bound round the pillars. The king was seated on an European chair, covered with a cloth; and before him was placed a small European table, containing several decanters filled with different kinds of liquor, and several tumblers and wine glasses, and a supply of water. As we approached nearer and nearer, the messengers prostrated themselves on their hands and knees; and in this posture advanced several yards, until they came close to the place where the king was seated. They then threw dust on their heads, and prostrated themselves, touching the dust with their foreheads, chins, and cheek-bones. Mewo and Kabada were kneeling on the ground close opposite the king. The king rose from his seat to receive me as I entered the verandah, took me very cordially by the hand, and bade me welcome to Dahomy. My travelling camp-stool was then placed on the other side of the table, directly opposite the king, and I was requested to sit down. His majesty also seated himself, and seemed pleased to see me. After asking me how I liked my journey, and giving me an opportunity of letting him know what I thought of the country through which I had passed, he

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asked me to drink with him; and while I was doing so, I heard heavy guns firing at a short distance from the place where we were seated, and was informed by the king that he was firing a salute in honour of the queen of England. When twenty-one guns had been fired, he showed me in his hand twenty-one cowrie shells, and said they were equal in number to the guns he had fired in honour of the queen of England. I of course returned thanks. He then fired a salute of nine guns to welcome me to Kanna. To object to this would, in such a case, have been wrong, as he would not have understood my motive for so doing; and I, therefore, endeavoured to put a good face on it, and thanked him for his kindness. We then entered into conversation; and I explained to him the real object of my visit, and went at length into the subject of the Badagry mission; acquainting him with our objects and intentions, contradicting the false rumour respecting our building a fort at Badagry, and assuring him that our operations there were of a strictly religious, and not of a political, nature. He seemed very well satisfied with the explanations I gave, and immediately said, "Cannot you do something at Whydah also?" to which I answered, "My particular business with your majesty is concerning our mission at Badagry; but if you wish us to commence a mission at Whydah, we will try, and attend to your request as early as possible." In answer to which he said, he wished us to do so. I then spoke to him of the anxiety manifested by her majesty the queen of England and her people, to do good to Africa by every possible means. Referring again to the Badagry mission, I stated that a great number of Aku people, who had

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been taken from slave-ships by British cruisers, had been landed at Sierra Leone, where they had lived many years under the protection of the British government; that they had expressed a wish to return to their native land; that they had done so; and that, as many of them had been under the instruction of English missionaries at Sierra Leone, I had, while at Cape Coast, received instructions to proceed to Badagry, and try to make some arrangement for their being taken care of; but that we did not wish to confine our operations to Badagry, or any particular place, but to act as the friends of all. I further stated, that we recently had commenced a mission in Ashanti, and had very great demands for missionaries all around us at Cape Coast; but, notwithstanding, I was sure that every effort would be made in England to do something for Whydah. I also added, that the queen of England had been recently turning her attention very much towards Africa, and several times the question had lately been asked, "What can be done for the good of Africa?" that measures were now being adopted for promoting the benevolent object; and I thought it probable that the queen of England would soon send to him about the re-occupying of the English fort at Whydah, and opening friendly communications with him. He was evidently highly pleased with what I said, and replied, "I hope the queen will send to me, and send a governor for the fort directly." I then acquainted him with my extreme anxiety to return to the coast without delay, on account of my long absence from Cape Coast, where business of a very pressing nature demanded my speedy return; and he assured me that he would not detain me, but

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make me ready very soon. Our long interview was then brought to a close; and he rose up and accompanied me across the two yards, and out at the door into the area in front of the gate. On our arrival outside the gate, accompanied by several hundred female soldiers, the king ordered them to fire their muskets and blunderbusses: thus I was taken unawares with more firing for about from ten to twenty minutes. I was sorry it took place on the sabbath; but I could not hinder it. This little brigade of soldiers presented a very singular appearance. They were dressed so much like men, that a stranger would not have supposed that they were women. The king's soldiers wear a loose shirt without sleeves, which comes nearly down to their knees, and is fastened round the waist by their cartouch-belt; a musket, a small heavy cutlass, and a poniard, complete their armour. The brigade of women fired their muskets and blunderbusses remarkably well, and seemed totally void of fear.

Some conceptions of my feelings, in the midst of all these important negotiations, may be formed by kindred minds much better than I can describe them.

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APPENDIX C.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REV. JOHN CLARKE, FERNANDO PO, TO JOSEPH STURGE, ESQ. BIRMINGHAM.

SINCE the property formerly held on this island by the British government came into the possession of the West African Company, little but oppressions, cruelty, and injustice, have marked the conduct of their agents towards the people. All, if required by the company, are forced to work for them at such a rate as the agent thinks proper to give. No objection is allowed; if one is made and persisted in, the person is handed over to constables, to be put into a place called a guard-house, but more properly a dungeon, as it is built in a cut across a narrow point of land, and its eaves are level with the surface of the ground. If resistance is made to the authority of the constable, or passion causes the person to give liberty to the tongue, he is flogged, loaded with irons, and kept as the agent pleases in this den of death. Besides this dungeon, he has a house on a small rocky island, for persons to be banished to for a time. This is chiefly for women who quarrel in the street, or do any thing to offend the agent. Men have occasionally been sent there, but not often. Frequently men and women have been confined in the same place, and conduct the most arbitrary and despotic has been indulged in towards all.

I remain your sincere friend,
JOHN CLARKE.

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APPENDIX D.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. STURGEON.

Clarence, Fernando Po, August 14, 1843.

I HAVE long lamented the awful state of our youth, but knew not how to remedy the evil. To strike at once at the root of the evil, I thought that I had better begin with the parents themselves, which I did by preaching a sermon to them expressly upon the subject. And now, for the first time in Africa, I saw, to my inexpressible delight, parents weeping over their neglect to their offspring; which so affected the children as to make streams of tears flow down their little cheeks. On the following Lord's day (July 30th) I preached to the young. The scene was one of the most imposing character.

I meet the children of our congregation (forty in number) once a-week, and devote half an hour in teaching them singing and the first principles of music, and half an hour in imparting to them general and religious instruction. It is truly pleasing to inform you, sir, that there are more than twenty children and young persons who can read the New Testament, and speak the English language moderately well.

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APPENDIX E.

LETTER ON MALARIA BY J. HITCHMAN, ESQ., M.D., SANATORIUM, LONDON.

My dear friend—The fever to which so many of our countrymen have fallen victims in hot climates, appears to be the result of a peculiar exhalation, which has received the term of *malaria*. The concurrence of many local causes seems necessary for the production of this malignant miasm; and among these, decomposing animal matter—moist, marshy grounds—and a temperature above ninety degrees, appear the most conspicuous. Heat itself is not the cause, but a mere condition in its production. That moisture by itself, or even blended with heat, is sufficient, unaided by other circumstances, has been denied by the concurrent testimony of the most practical writers. It also appears necessary, that the surface of the ground should be left uncovered by water; for the destructive fever of hot climates seldom shows itself until the moistened soil has been exposed for some time to the influence of the sun. The *precise* nature of malaria has been hitherto undiscovered, although it has been, in numberless instances, unequivocally traced to a local cause; and *that* the decomposition, or chemical change of animal and vegetable matter, aided by a high temperature—access to sea-water—a quiet, stagnant atmosphere—and, perhaps, certain other conditions, not as yet detected.

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Recent investigations, conducted by Professor Daniel, of King's College, would seem to point out, that this poisonous agent was in union with sulphureted hydrogen gas, or that the gas itself was *the* agent in the particular instance of the African shores. I say particular instance, because several facts, which have fallen under my notice, seem to nullify its general applicability; and it will, perhaps, be found that there are *various kinds of vapour*, which, when inhaled, produce fever and death. It should be the object of science to discover and remove it in each particular case. The supposition, that sulphureted hydrogen gas was the destroying vapour around the pestiferous shores of Western Africa, arose in Professor Daniel's mind in the following manner:—He had been requested by the Admiralty to analyse certain waters of the ocean in which the copper sheathings of their vessels had been injured. He discovered, that the gas in question was the mischievous agent; and further inquiry proved, that it was found in greatest abundance in the waters of Western Africa, and that it is diffused through an extent of more than sixteen degrees of latitude, reaching, in places, forty miles seaward, and making altogether an area of more than forty thousand square miles. Such a discovery, in such a place, naturally led to the idea, that *it* might possibly be the exciting cause of those maladies which befal Europeans, exposed for any length of time on the coast, or about the delta of the Niger; for sulphureted hydrogen is a deadly poison: so fatal, indeed, that a small bird is unable to live, if compelled to respire in an atmosphere containing a fifteen-hundreth part of its volume; and, according to Thenard, a distinguished French chemist, a horse would die in

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air containing a hundred and fiftieth part of this gas; and a dog if it held about an eight hundredth part. Chaussier has also shown, that it will kill a rabbit in about ten minutes, if applied in the concentrated form *to its skin alone.* It is evolved in the putrefaction of almost every kind of organic matter, whether animal or vegetable; and the symptoms it produces, in a highly diluted form, are these—nausea, lethargy, weakness, and pains about the chest and abdomen. It is the presence of this gas which renders a stale egg so intolerably offensive; and hence, Professor Daniel was surprised that no allusion to a disagreeable odour being felt in these seas, had been made; but the following passage, from Laird and Oldfield's work, soon after attracted his notice:—"The *horrid sickening stench* of the miasma must be experienced to be conceived; no description of it can convey to the mind the wretched sensation that is felt for some time before and after daybreak. In those accursed swamps, one is oppressed, not only bodily but mentally, with an indescribable feeling of heaviness, langour, nausea, and disgust, which requires a considerable effort to shake off." The same distinguished chemist *proved,* by experiment, that this gas was produced by the decomposition of sulphate salts (with which the ocean abounds) in the water, by the carbonaceous matter of vegetables. The immense rivers of Africa must bring down and deposit at their mouths a vast quantity of such vegetable matter, to be acted on by the ocean in which they empty themselves, and thus the deadly vapour is continually eliminated in quantities which mock the resources of our tiny laboratories, and baffle every attempt at removal.

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Professor Daniel supports his theory by an interesting account from the "Annales de Chimie," p. 225, by Signor Gaetano Gingini, on the great importance which attaches to the circumstance of marshes being, at times, in communication with the sea. The account is so interesting, that I am sure you will excuse my entering it at full:—"On the south of the Ligurian Appenines is a marshy shore, bounded on the west, for twelve miles, by the Mediterranean; on the south by the river Serehio, and on the north by the river Frigido; a torrent commencing at the foot of the Apennines in the state of Masse di Caerere, running three or four miles over the land, and then falling into the sea. This plain is from two to four miles wide, and is traversed by a few short torrents or streams; among these are the rivers Camajore and Pietre Santa, which divides the plain into three separate basins. The rain and spring waters, which flow into the three basins mentioned, are slowly discharged into the sea by natural or artificial canals, penetrating the sand-bank, which exists on the sea-side. The level of these stagnant waters is between that of high water and low water in the neighbouring sea: there being but little difference between these two points in this part of the Mediterranean. In this state of things, formerly, when the waters of the sea rose from any circumstance, (unless the waters of the marshes were very high,) they used to return up the ditches, fill the basins, and inundate the country to the foot of the mountains; and, with a north-west wind, the waves used to penetrate with force to the interior. The mixture of fresh and salt water thus formed, and which in summer was rarely changed, became corrupt, and spread

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infection over the neighbourhood, of the most destructive kind. In this way the effects of the malaria were reproduced annually in the neighbouring country, with all their peculiar horrors; the population, though small, presented feeble infants and diseased men, old age being unknown there. All attempts to avoid the scourge, by living on the hills, or in the interior, and frequenting the plain when the business of cultivation essentially required it, were vain; they fell victims to the extensive influence; and such being the effects upon inhabitants of the country, much more rapidly did a stranger suffer from the deleterious atmosphere,—one single night in the months of August and September causing inevitable death to the incautious traveller who should stay so long in this infected country. Such was the state of things until 1741. Previous to that time, Gemignano Bondelli, Eustachis Monfredi, and Bernerdino Lendroni, had successively insisted upon the necessity of excluding the sea from these marshes; and in 1740—41, a sluice with folding doors, competent to give emission to the waters of the marsh, but preventing the sea from entering, was constructed at the mouth of the Burlemecce. The most complete and unexpected success immediately followed upon, and has continued with, this work. *The year after its completion there were no appearances of the terrible maladies which previously appeared every year.* The inhabitants soon recovered their health; and, the land being very fertile, the population rapidly increased, and is increasing at this moment. Viereggio has become a considerable town, and so completely has all suspicion of its insalubrity disappeared, that the first families of Lucee have for years built their

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summer seats there. Notwithstanding the success of the precautions taken at this part of the coast, the neighbouring parts were long left a prey to the destroying influence of the mixed marsh-waters; and the inhabitants around the basins of Motrone and Perotto were not considered until the year 1804. In the years 1809, 1810, 1811, similar means were taken, with the best effects to the inhabitants of Montignosso, and the vicinity; and in 1812, a sluice was constructed on the Cinquale, which perfected the arrangements in this part, and made a large portion of country equally healthy with Viereggio. To complete the arrangement, it was now only required to guard the ditches of Motrone and Tonfalo with sluices,—the former was finished in 1819, and the latter in 1821. Since that time, the diseases of malaria have ceased so entirely at all points, that no other dangers are now incurred regarding the insalubrity of the atmosphere than such as might arise from neglect of these sluices, which the inhabitants of the country should regard as their palladium." I have also seen a very interesting paper, by Dr. Robert Hamilton, of Lyme Regis, who wrote on marsh fever in 1793; and on the evils resulting from a union of sea-water, with swampy or marshy grounds, he says, "The inundations from the sea are generally followed by worse consequences, in respect to health, than those from the fresh water. If they extend far, they cover much low ground under cultivation, and fill many ditches which, in many situations, cannot be drained by any other means than evaporation by the heat of the sun. Dead fish, left upon the overflowed land, become putrid; and animal and vegetable life, de-

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stroyed by the salt water; and the various insects, reptiles, and smaller order of animals, and the different vegetable productions which happen to be covered by it; and the miasmati which must arise from such an accumulation of putrefaction, produce the worst kind of remittent fever." "The *stench* of the exhalations arising from the corrupted, stagnant water, and putrid, half-dried mud or ooze, was most intolerably offensive; the effluvia was almost suffocating; and it was almost impossible to avoid a *nausea*, a *langour*, and a constant spitting whilst within their influence."

How like is the doctor's language regarding the effects of the malaria of his time, to the statements of Laird and Oldfield respecting their feelings in the swampy delta of the Niger! Numerous incidents, confirmatory of this supposition, crowd upon my mind; and were it not for the negative facts which have come under my notice, I should be inclined to give it a *general*, instead of an individual applicability.

Among the circumstances which seem to confirm the theory of Professor Daniel, may be mentioned the account of a fever which broke out in the *Dart*, guardship, off Barbadoes in 1807. The disease was attributed to land-influences; but as new comers were attacked after sleeping a few nights on board, it gave rise to a suspicion of the cause being in the ship itself; and, on investigation, it was found that the vessel was divided into two compartments below, so as to allow the water being received into large tanks or cisterns, instead of the usual way. The bottoms of these were covered with *an offensive deposition of mud*. On the 17th of May this evil was detected and removed, a free circula-

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tion of air admitted; and on the 24th, the note-book of the physician states,—" for the last week no fresh case of fever has appeared on board the *Dart*," and with this the following observation:—" The fatal cases terminated in the usual manner of yellow fever. As such fevers may occur at various periods after exposure—consequently, after the cause has been removed—the early cessation of the disease, in the present instance, is more material, where the ship was constantly receiving *new men;* because their not being affected *subsequently*, shows that *the cause, which existed previously, had ceased to exist.*"

Again.—In the years 1815—16, a fever broke out in the West India Islands, which, from its malignity, was called *African fever*, and deemed an importation; but it was traceable to local causes, as explained by Messrs. Shepherd, Barnes, and others, who were serving on the stations. For instance, the *Antelope*, when anchored off Bridge Town, without any communication with fever cases, had a hundred and ten cases of this Bulan fever, of which thirty-one died, seven only had black vomit, and six of these lived almost entirely below, " where the atmosphere is thick and heavy—the continued burning of candles—the crowding together of several people—and *the debris of pantry and mess-rooms not always exceedingly clean.*"

When we reflect, that *sea-water* is the agent used in cleaning on ship-board, and blend this with " the debris of the pantry," we have the elements of sulphureted hydrogen gas, ready to start into existence under the influence of a tropical sun. The *Childers*, serving on the same station, suffered to a much greater extent

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from fever. The whole of her crew was attacked except three, and about half died. "On lifting the hatches of the fore and after holds, *a horrid suffocating stench* issued from them." This vessel continued to have new cases until *cleared out*. The creoles employed in this task took the disease; after that, no fresh cases occurred.

Again, the fever which appeared in Gibraltar, in the year 1828, called Bulan fever, and also said to be imported from Africa, was prognosticated by several of the old residents, "from the bad smells;" and in the district No. 24, where it *first showed itself*, "there is a large open grating, from which offensive vapours arise, and a continuous drain receiving the feculent outpourings of the place. The line wall *skirting the sea-beach*, where these drains emptied themselves, was a mortal station, few sentries placed there escaped an attack. Colonel Payne lost his life by visiting this place at night." Some facts, described by Dr. J. B. Allan, also substantiate this view of malaria. Writing on Madagascar and its diseases, he says, "On going out before sun-rise, the atmosphere was, as in the jungles of India, *like the smoke from gunpowder*; and, in the intervals of sunshine, the same sickening vapour could be seen rising from the earth like a white cloud. Perhaps in this atmosphere was suspended the great remote cause of fever; at any rate, from April to November, no such atmosphere was perceptible, and people calculate then on health with as much certainty as in the most wholesome climates of the world. Conjoined to vegetable effluvium, there was another not unworthy of notice. From about ten miles south of Point Rafallo

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runs out one of those great coral reefs which everywhere surround the coasts, forming safe and extensive harbours. At the time of the rains, the curious inhabitants of the coral were observed to be liable to as hurried life and death as the vegetable kingdom. On the ebbing of the tide, this extensive animal surface was, in a great measure, left dry, and exposed to the sun's rays; and, although the shore was nearly a mile distant, yet the odour given off was disgusting in the extreme." Speaking of Zanzibar, he gives the same facts, viz., decaying "*vegetable matter* exposed to the influence of *salt*-water and a burning sun." Of Port Lewis he writes, that a *land* breeze prevails for ten months; during this, intermittent fevers are extremely rare; but when the *sea*-breezes set in, they became frequent.

It appears that the malarious vapour, whatever it may be, expands by heat, becomes more diffused by a wider separation of its particles, and ascends to considerable heights in the superjacent atmosphere; as night advances, it becomes cooler, more concentrated, and falls. An interesting circumstance, which admits of this interpretation, is related by Dr. Johnson:—"Having occasion to take a passage from Madras to Calcutta in a foreign merchantman, at that time I sat late on the deck one evening after our arrival in the Ganges, the vessel being at anchor a mile from the shore, and not a breath of wind moving in any direction. As the dews began to fall, I perceived all at once a faint heavy odour, to account for which I was much puzzled, as there was no wind to waft any exhalations from the adjacent shore. My reflections were soon interrupted,

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however, by a sense of *faintness, giddiness,* and at length *nausea,* with which I was suddenly affected." The doctor took calomel, &c., and "although no farther symptoms of fever occurred, yet I felt an unusual degree of lassitude and depression of spirits, for some days after I got to Calcutta."

The same feelings have been felt in passing the Pontine marshes at night; and Dr. Lina, a distinguished writer, states, that the first rains which fall in Guinea are the most unhealthy—it is supposed by bringing down the ascended malaria. It is interesting to find that these symptoms, described by Dr. Johnson, very much resemble those felt by individuals exposed to the stench of a newly opened grave, or to the exhalations from vaults of a certain description. Fourcroy states, that grave-diggers in France are frequently seized with "giddiness, *nausea, oppression,* and asphyxie." The symptoms induced by the inhalation of sulphureted hydrogen gas, vary according to the quantity imbibed. But in a recent work on poisons, the feelings induced by it, in a very much diluted and weakened form, are thus described:—"In the mildest cases, and when the exposure has been of short duration, *nausea,* a certain *degree of lethargy,* with slight abdominal and thoracic pains are the only symptoms which have been observed." *How* malaria acts upon the human system is wrapped in mystery; but the profound and philosophic Liebig thus states the matter:—"Just as yeast, putrefying flesh, and the stomach of a calf in a state of decomposition, when introduced into solutions of sugar, effect the transformation of this substance without being themselves regenerated; in the same manner, miasms and

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certain contagious matters produce diseases in the human organism by communicating the state of decomposition, of which they themselves are the subject, to certain parts of the organism, without themselves being reproduced in their peculiar form and nature during the progress of the decomposition."

Such my friend, are a few of the facts which seem to corrobate the theory of Professor Daniel; but I must not conceal the fact that it has been disputed by some, and that much of the immense quantities of sulphureted hydrogen contained in the waters examined by Professor Daniel, has been regarded as the result of decomposition in the water itself during the homeward voyage. Nothing decisive, however, has fallen under my notice. New theories will always meet with opposition,—and it it is right they should. It is the only means of detecting the false from the true. It is by the collision of flint and steel that the spark is elicited; and opposition, conflict, and trial, seem necessary before truth in all her unsullied purity and brightness can be made to appear. After all, the gas may only be an *acccompaniment* of the malaria, and not the thing itself; and there are, as I have said before, facts in abundance which seen to set aside its *general* applicability. It may be the dread destroyer on the shores of that country whose wrongs we deplore; and its source seems to be, the immense masses of vegetable debritus rolled down to the ocean by the many-mouthed Niger, and also, perhaps, as suggested by Professor Daniel, from some extensive volcanic action. Whatever the agent, its effects are desolating indeed. Major Tulloch writes thus, respecting Sierra Leone:—"Every soldier was thrice under

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medical treatment, and nearly half the force perished annually; indeed, in 1825, and again in 1826, when the mortality was at its height, three-fourths of the force were cut off." The Cape Coast command yields the same results, "two-thirds of the white troops died annually, and so great was the mortality in 1824, that the deaths nearly equalled the mean strength of the garrison." But it would be uselessly occupying your time on this already too extended letter, to dwell upon the medical statistics of that deadly clime. The fact that forty-five of those truly heroic men, who volunteered their services in the late Niger expedition, fell victims to their benevolence, is enough to establish the unhealthiness of the climate, and cause us to mourn over the failure of those resources which science held out as a palladium against disease.

My chief hope for Africa *now* rests in the employment of native agency; or at all events in the exertions of men who have been accustomed from childhood to the influences of a tropical climate. Hence I look with intense interest and delight to the admirable working of emancipation in the West. Viewed merely in the light of a cold philosophy, it presents scenes calculated to gladden the heart. It is moving a cloud which has too long darkened and disfigured the human soul. The reflex influence of slavery (apart from religious considerations) in deteriorating and weakening the intellect, has been immense. The iron has not only chafed the limb, but crippled the mind of the sufferer; but happily the child of freedom, will grow up under different auspices; removed from the debasing influences of slavery, his mind will expand, his capabilities to

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gather up knowledge will increase, and he will become a worthy agent, not only to carry the glad tidings of eternal truth, (which as paramount to all other things, is also happily independent, to a very great degree, of mental conditions,) but also that knowledge of general science, which shall enable Africa to take up an elevated position among the nations of the world. To the West Indies and to Sierra Leone, then, must the friend of Africa look for agents, whether to Christianise or to civilise the myriad inhabitants of her interior. Some Europeans must act as pioneers or directors in this great cause, since to them are entrusted the "oracles of God"; and to such I would urge *a lengthened residence on the heights of Fernando Po*, as preparatory to a journey up the awful Niger, or to a sojourn in the interior of Africa. This I would recommend from an idea, that the system by being *gradually* exposed to the influence of "minute doses" of the malaria, would become so habituated to it, as to feel its effects in an infinitely less degree, when compelled to inhale it in a more concentrated form. The conservative powers of the human system are great, and unless paralysed by a sudden and strongly acting force, can accommodate themselves to vast changes—thus, some of the most virulent agents have been converted into luxuries by habitual use. Tobacao and opium are among the most prominent of these; but the records of medical experience, testify that even arsenic and corrosive sublimate have been taken in (comparatively) great quantities without the destruction of life. It is related of Mithridates, that he could not poison himself, in consequence of such a training, and Sartorius relates

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the case of a man who had been so long accustomed to the inhalation of a foul and stinking atmosphere, that he fell ill on being removed from its influence, and only recovered by a return to his filthy dungeon. These two latter facts are not, however, of that authority and character which would justify us in drawing important practical conclusions, but modern experience has fully shown that the nightmen of London will inhale sulphureted hydrogen, with almost perfect impunity, in quantities which would prove fatal to the uninitiated. Spallanzani caused a pigeon to feed and thrive on flesh, and, what is more to our purpose, he successfully removed fresh-water mollusca from their native element into sea-water, and salt-water mollusca from sea to river-water, and this by slowly and gradually admitting the element foreign to their nature—while immediate death was the consequence of a sudden transition. Exotic plants, by slow and gradual changes, become habituated to our climate, and almost every season witnesses new varieties quitting the warm atmosphere of the green-house, to take their position among the sober habitants of our open gardens. The fuschias, the chinasters, &c., are illustrations of this; and, though *perennials*, by these means frequently sink into *annuals*, their contracted duration is nevertheless passed in health, and their means of propagation are rather changed than annihilated. The heights of Fernando Po are comparatively healthy, and have a bracing effect on the exhausted frames of convalescents and invalids. Some of the mountains possess the temperature of an European summer; and a lengthened residence on these, I would urge as a prophylactic, worthy of trial by such as con-

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template an excursion into the interior of Africa. The late Niger expedition points out the impotency of chlorine fumigations; and yet any thing short of protection to the respiratory apparatus would be futile, as a prophylactic, since the membrane lining the breathing tubes possesses the power of absorption in a great degree; as proved by the simple experiment of passing through a recently painted room, when the odour of turpentine will be speedily detected in the secretions of the body. It would be a glorious thing to discover the precise nature of malaria, so as to furnish for the African traveller a "respirator," or something equivalent, which should separate, by some chemical attraction, the deleterious particles from the inhaled atmosphere, as is done by magnetic attraction for the needle-grinders at Sheffield, or as the miner is sheltered from the explosive power of carbureted hydrogen, by the philosophic ingenuity of a Davy. It has been stated, that the miasmic particles of the Campagne di Roma are heavier than the surrounding atmosphere, and that a silk gauze placed before the mouth is preventive of their effects.* This was declared in a paper by M. Rigaud de l'Isle, before the Royal Institute of France; and Monsieur Brocchi's experience testifies to the same remedy, and he therefore points out the propriety of sleeping under a fine musquito net, in all places where intermittents are peculiar to the country (endemic). The *skin* is another surface, (though acting in a much less degree) through which gaseous poisons may operate on the

* Mem. de l'Institute Royal de France. March 24, 1817.

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system; and it is worthy of notice, that it is in this structure that the greatest changes take place in animals removed from a temporate to a tropical clime; thus the wool of the sheep degenerates into fine hair, and most of the quadrupeds of the torrid zone are thinly provided, even with this latter covering. The natives of Africa differ from us in the structure of this tissue, as much as in the shape of their head or their heel. It is thicker, and said by some to possess a layer which is absent in the European. Its colour, as is well known, is peculiar; and negroes perspire but rarely. These facts would suggest the propriety of sheltering the cutaneous surface, or modifying its secretions. The frequent rubbing in of palm or olive oil, while it would certainly be beneficial in a general point of view, may have a *specific* good. Thus, when the plague ravaged England with a power as great as that which devastated the people of the Levant, the tallow-chandlers, and others employed in greasy occupations, were exempt from its influence; and Mr. Jackson, in his "Reflections on the Commerce of the Mediterranean," says, "that the Coolies who are employed in the oil stores at Tunis, smear themselves all over with oil, and are seldom afflicted with the plague when it rages in that city." It would yield some protection against "prickly heat,"—a very annoying disease in the tropics,—even if it did not furnish a shield against the absorption of malaria. As a preservative of health, it has elicited the praise of Lord Bacon:—"Ante omnia igitur usum olei vel olivarum, vel amygdali dulcis, ad cutem ab extra unguendum, ad

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longuvitatem conducere existimamus." (Opera, fol. 1665, p. 536.)

A vest of soft colourless silk, worn next to the person, would, I think, be preferable to flannel, as being much lighter, and also as being, in an eminent degree, a non-electric; it may be useful in the general langour felt by Europeans in damp, hot countries, by preventing the passage of electricity from the body. From the comforts experienced by invalids in this country from its use, in rheumatism and many other diseases, I should certainly wear it myself. Moderate, though by no means excessive bleeding, together with the mild use of purgatives, should be resorted to as preparatory to a residence in Fernando Po,—it having been ascertained that hot countries have a tendency to induce inflammatory excitement. Dr. Daw, speaking of Ceylon, says that he found, from personal experience, that the temperature of the body increased by two degrees. Moderate repletion, then, *and rigid temperance* must be resorted to by the African's friend, as a means, under Providence, of securing health and success.

With much less sacrifice of human life and pecuniary expenditure than have been wasted in desolating wars, (I am Utopian enough to think,) the climate of Africa may be so far modified as to prove no more baneful than the climate of Calcutta or Madras. Sacrifices there will be. It seems a law, that the pioneers in the march of holiness or utility, must pass through suffering to success. The early Christians fell by thousands under the rage of the Roman emperors; but Christianity saw the downfall of Rome. Galileo, Harvey, and

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Jenner, were the objects of persecution and ridicule; yet their efforts to ameliorate the condition of mankind were not unblessed: and shall we shrink from ridicule or danger, or deem a few lives uselessly thrown away, when the result will be to raise one of the most fertile, beautiful, and extensive parts of the globe from moral death, and all but commercial uselessness, into a land of Christianity, and a source of inexhaustible wealth to our father-land? Wild and visionary as it may seem, I doubt not, my dear friend, but that an improved agriculture, extensive drainings, and a sweeping down of the vast mangrove forests, will one day take place, and change the physical features, and, with them, the climate of that mighty land. There was a time, when our present highly favoured country was the seat of plague. In the reign of queen Elizabeth, twenty-eight thousand perished; in the reign of James, thirty thousand; and in that of Charles, thirty-five thousand. It is now unknown, and its disappearance may be clearly traced to physical causes. Thus, Erasmus in a letter describes the habits of our people:—"The floors are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lie, unmolested, an ancient collection of bears' grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and everything that is nasty." The houses were without chimneys. Smoke had to escape, and ventilation be effected, by the door alone. In the year 1780, agues were rife, and presented symptoms which were truly awful. Patients died in a few days after the attack. Indeed the symptoms of malignant ague, as delineated in a recent elaborate work on medicine, and those pre-

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sented by the climatorial fever of Africa, as described by Mr. Boyle, are very similar :—thus,

MALIGNANT AGUE, WITH ABDOMINAL COMPLICATIONS.	AFRICAN FEVER.
"*Great pain of the abdomen—pain of the loins—vomiting,* sometimes incontrollable, of matters, generally *bilious*—discharges from the bowels of the same, or insurmountable *obstruction*—great sense of intense heat, tongue dry and of a yellow or brown colour — pulse frequently small, sharp, contracted," &c. &c.	"This fever is ordinarily characterised by severe head-ache—*vomiting, sometimes of green bile—costive state of bowels—pain of the pit of the stomach*—great heat of skin—suffused eyes — thirst — the tongue furred, pains in all the joints and tottering of limbs—*severe pain in the back*—face flushed, or of a livid hue—pulse varies from 90, 120, 140. When the skin is livid, the pulse is less developed, nor will the skin attain so high a temperature."

Here are, indeed, slight differences; but which, when locality is considered, seem more in degree than in kind; and I have been thus anxious to delineate the two, in order to point out the fact, that an alteration in the physical characteristics of a country will have a vital influence on the climate of the land: for these very severe forms of intermittent have disappeared before the march of an improved and improving agriculture.

It is, moreover, a somewhat curious fact, that the malaria in Lincolnshire, during the awful period alluded to, exhibited peculiarities similar to what has since been observed by Dr. Fergusson, at the Port of Prince Rupert, in Dominica. Sir G. Baker tells us, that "the

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people of Boston, and the neighbouring villages in the midst of the fens, were in general *healthy* at a time when the fever was epidemic in the more elevated situations of Lincolnshire." Dr. Fergusson states, that "a barrack was erected three hundred feet above the level of the marsh, but it proved pestiferous beyond belief—in fact no white man could live there;" and speaking of Port d'Espagne, Trinidad, he says, "The town, though not healthy, is not uninhabitable; but on the right are some *heights* which prove destructive in the highest degree."

The great advantage effected by extensive drainings, and a frequent upturning of the soil to the influence of the sun and air, is evinced in the fact, that, some seventy years ago, the country, six miles west of Edinburgh, was so unhealthy, "that *every* spring the farmers and their servants were seized with fever and ague." Afterwards, "the vast pools of stagnant water, formerly left between the ridges of the fields, were removed—dunghills carried to a distance, &c.; when every symptom of ague disappeared, and the district became highly salubrious." About fifty years ago, the crops in a high and uncultivated district of East Lothian suffered severely from cold fogs; "but by draining the climate has improved, and the destructive mists have entirely disappeared." The same results have followed similar proceedings in many parts of England.

If ever the extensive mangrove forests be cut down, which now crowd the scene from Benin to Calabar, a great and happy change in the climate of that coast will be the result. The mangrove requiring salt-water for

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its support, ministers powerfully in its decay to the evolution of sulphureted hydrogen: by its fall, this source of supply would be removed, and the swampy country be better fitted for agricultural operations. So long as they continue in their present numbers, swamps will abound, for trees secrete water in immense quantities. In many parts of America, the waters of its rivers have been diminished. In some places in New Jersey, many streams have altogether disappeared; and in Kentucky, brooks, which flowed throughout the year, are now dry during the summer months, in consequence of the extensive fellings of timber which have taken place in that country.

A century may roll by, ere these things be; but we have been so accustomed to great undertakings in this age, that scarce any thing seems to vast for skill, energy, and perseverance to perform; and, therefore, preposterous as it may appear, I cannot entirely forego the hope, that such an achievement may one day be accomplished for injured Africa. Pardon me if enthusiasm has carried me too far—if the intensity of the wish has overleaped the boundaries of possibility.

I must now conclude this too long letter,—such as it is, I place it before you. Do with it as you please. It lays claim to but little originality, and is chiefly the result of reading and reflection on a subject dear to both of us; if it succeed in drawing other minds to the same topic, or in eliciting a single suggestion for the benefit of Africa, or her friends, I shall deem the moments employed in its composition as among the happiest of a happy life. That God may bless your efforts, and that

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Ethiopia may soon stretch forth her hands unto Him, is the fervid wish and prayer of,

Your very sincere friend,

JOHN HITCHMAN.

To the Rev. D. J. East.

SANATORIUM, *Jan.* 9, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND—The theory respecting malaria, forwarded to you in October, 1842, has been very much modified, if not wholly set aside by the recent publication of Dr. M'Williams's journals; but as you think the facts contained in the letter will prove useful to missionaries, I have no objection to their publication, and am

Yours faithfully,

J. H.

Luntley & Dick, Printers, New Broad Street Court, London.

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